Continuity and Destruction in the Greek East

The transformation of monumental space from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity

Edited by

Sujatha Chandrasekaran
Anna Kouremenos

BAR International Series 2765

2015

First Published in 2015 by
British Archaeological Reports Ltd
United Kingdom

BAR International Series 2765

Continuity and Destruction in the Greek East

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ISBN 9781407314297 paperback
ISBN 9781407343853 e-format
DOI https://doi.org/10.30861/9781407314297
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Cover Image:

Apamea, Syria, Roman street colonnade (Photo: S. Chandrasekaran).

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Preface

This edited volume was borne of the 2011 international academic conference 'Continuity and Destruction in Alexander's East: the transformation of monumental space from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity', which took place at the University of Oxford. The conference and publication theme – the region commonly known as the Hellenistic East – follows the long-term research interests of the editors and brings together scholars and specialists doing work in the region. It follows in the footsteps of a previous conference of 2009, From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East, which resulted in an edited volume of 2011 published by BAR. While 'Pella to Gandhara' looked into the Hellenistic East as a whole, 'Continuity and Destruction' narrows the focus onto the Near East, with its greater wealth of archaeological research and publication. At the same time, the focus of the current topic carries over onto an extended time frame spanning the aftermath of the Macedonian campaign, thus tracing steady, smooth or abrupt changes of defining spaces in ancient societies as these were molded and shaped by the events of the day.

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Acknowledgements

The editors would like to express their gratitude to the following individuals, institutions, and funders for their support and encouragement of this volume in its various stages:

Ross Burns

David Davison

Janet DeLaine

Louise Durning

Lincoln College, Oxford

John Ma

Rachel Mairs

Meyerstein Research Fund

Oxford Centre for Late Antiquity

Timm Radt

School of Archaeology, University of Oxford

R. R. R. Smith

Michael Vickers

Bryan Ward-Perkins

Marlena Whiting

Last but not least, our thanks go to the contributors to this volume for their time, hard work, and patience in putting this publication together.

Introduction

Sujatha Chandrasekaran

'Continuity and Destruction'. These keywords embody the current discussion of a region 'transformed' by Alexander's eastern campaign, a discussion which is increasingly directed at tracing the nature of local societies and identities against the seemingly overwhelming backdrop of Greek conquest and 'hellenization'. Scholarship is progressively demonstrating a more balanced power-play between Greeks and locals and shifting focus towards the role of the local element as the formative factor for identity. No modern study of this area can be complete without addressing concepts of identity, ethnicity and acculturation,[1] the discussion of which mirrors the diversity of the Near East from ancient times to the present day 'in religion, in language, in culture, and above all in self-perception', as aptly summarized by B. Lewis,[2]. Yet the degree of diversity is great, and there is hardly one formula for identifying and categorizing the factors and assortment of Greek and local interaction in the East.

The diversity and charged pace of the Hellenistic East is best followed in the Near East, from where we have the highest concentration of archaeological material and publications throughout the East by far. This material demonstrates an ever-changing dynamic that continued steadily from the Hellenistic period into the Roman and Late Antique periods. The aim of this volume is to better grasp this dynamic through the material by focusing on a select medium – monumental space. Be it topographic, structural, institutional or functional, monumental space is one of the most valuable indicators of (large-scale) agendas influencing or affecting larger sections or the bulk of a society.[3] In the historical and archaeological record, this is best observed through change, or *transformation*, of or within a space. We can distinguish between the sharp, abrupt change of *destruction* and the slower, long-term change observed in *continuity*, which together form the underlying premise of this volume.

M. J. Versluys suggests viewing the ancient Near East as 'one large *krater* of inherent pluralism', where 'identities are flexibly structured according to a specific situation'.[4] Certainly, the multiplicity of elements and impulses underlying the transformation of monumental space – from strictly economic concerns to deliberate self-definition within a community – is itself an example of this inherent pluralism. It is the awareness of precisely this multiplicity that enables present scholarship to follow up on the discussion of ancient identities and their flexible structure.

The papers presented here explore the questions above with a focus on the archaeological and historical record, letting the material lead the discussion. The volume begins with a contribution by John Ma, who explores various possibilities and questions of studying continuity, destruction and conflict. The following papers place a focus on the archaeological material, defining the medium of monumental space in different ways. Craig Barker and Claudia Bührig each follow structural and functional transformation of a specific area within a particular site – the theater precinct in Nea Paphos and the Theater/Temple Area in Umm Qays, respectively – over a period of many centuries. Gaëlle Coqueugniot follows transformation of a specific kind of space, namely the public square, at two different sites – Europos in Parapotamia and Seleucia on the Tigris – providing a comparison of the functional and structural transformation over a longer period of time. Rob Rens takes us a step further by providing comparative studies of transformation of a particular type of monumental space – *agorai* – at multiple sites within the region of Pisidia during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Elizabeth Brophy, on the other hand, extends the idea and geography of her monumental space even further by examining continuity and destruction as reflected in style and distribution of royal statuary in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Finally, Ildiko Csperegi identifies her monumental space as a tradition – incubation – in Aegae in Cilicia, and follows its continuity through gradual and deliberate adaptation from Roman to Christian times.

In all cases, the papers define a space of significance within a society, tracing and highlighting changes over the long-term or those of a more immediate or abrupt nature – continuity or destruction – in order to identify political, economic and cultural changes and tastes defining a society at a given time or over a period of time. It must be emphasized here that this volume and its contributors do not follow a higher goal of defining the identity of any particular ancient society in full or in part. Instead, the different approaches to monumental space as presented here, with a shared focus on the material, go far to explain factors immediately affecting the societies in question and forming the basis of any in-depth discussion on the flexibility of ancient identities.

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[1] For discussions on addressing these and similar concepts as they apply to the Hellenistic period see: Prag, J. and Quinn, J. 2013. Introduction. In J. Prag and J. Quinn (eds.), *The Hellenistic West. Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean*. Cambridge; Rossi, R. 2011. Introduction. In A. Kouremenos, S. Chandrasekaran, and R. Rossi (eds.), *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East*. BAR International Series 2221. Oxford: BAR Publishing.

[2] Lewis, B. 1998. *The multiple identities of the Hellenistic East*. New York.

[3] John Ma views space as the result of conflict of social forces – an interesting if difficult concept – but also the result of choices (Aetolian space), i.e. space can be defined through conflict or choice. See Ma in this volume.

[4] Versluys, M. J. 2008. Exploring Identities in the Phoenician, Hellenistic and Roman East. *Biblioteka Orientalis* 2008/3-4. 354.

Space and/as conflict in the Hellenistic Period

John Ma

Continuity and destruction: these concepts require thoughtfulness when discussed in the context of the Hellenistic period. As, of course, does "Alexander's East". But the post-Classical Eastern Mediterranean, down to the Arab invasions, is a multiplex thing – hence the interest in it. For instance, Alexander's world starts before Alexander, in the mid-4th century BC, when "pre-Hellenistic" phenomena can be read in a number of places – late Classical Athens, or late Achaemenid Asia Minor or Phoenicia. The term "pre-Hellenistic" is not about hellenocentric teleology, as some have ham-fistedly thought. It is about long-term continuities and possibilities; it is about seeing traits in the sixth-century world, as described by Herodotus – euergetism, mobility, cultural exchange, kinship diplomacy, networking, civic institutions, elite display – that look completely familiar to the Hellenistic historian. The Hellenistic period, with its characteristic issues (continuity, change and conflict; interactions between Greek and non-Greek, between city and king) happened all over the place, in the East but also in mainland Greece and even in the "Hellenistic West" (to use the phrase coined by Jonathan Prag and Josephine Quinn to describe a Hellenistic world including Carthage, Sicily and Italy, Spain and Gaul – and Rome).[1] It also is a challenge to periodise: the historians with their epigraphically-based sources might increasingly be suggesting a break around 150 BC, but archaeologists (while admitting some form of transition from high to late Hellenistic), find it difficult to say "when the Hellenistic period ends" – a sentiment that is easy to share.[2] Some of these topics and tensions will echo throughout the other papers in this volume: the tensions, in themselves, are a source of conflict but also of continuity.

Continuity *and* destruction: the choice of the last word, rather than "change", is also one of the challenges of this volume. It focuses on a violent, sudden process, with massive impact and lasting consequences. In this paper, I would like to look for processes akin to the violence of destruction, but as constant presences in what seem to be landscapes of continuity. In other words, the theme is conflict in space in the Hellenistic world. I will first present some methodological propositions, before looking at examples of space and conflict, and trying to draw some broader conclusions.

How should we look not at destruction but conflict in space? I can think of two basic approaches, or strategies, that are the basic approaches for any attempt at studying the Hellenistic world. The first is deductive, in that it starts with a big idea, and moves on to more specific statements that derive from the big idea. A big idea: "Alexander introduced a period of violent, unparalleled change in the ancient world." Or: "The Hellenistic period was a period of tension and exclusion between Greek and non-Greek." Or: "The Hellenistic period brought about a mixed culture between Greek and non-Greek, whence Christianity would spring." Or: "The Hellenistic kingdoms brought about the end of the *polis*." Or: "The Hellenistic world was a world of individuals cast adrift." And so on. These "deductive" studies do not have to be couched as formal deductions, that is, with the general proposition first; it suffices that they have the big statement floating in the background, waiting to be exemplified by specific topics or cases. Elena Walter-Karydi's study of the fourth-century "big house" reflected the decline of the *polis* and democracy in the fourth century.[3] The "Smyrnian" Hellenistic stelai, as studied by Paul Zanker, showed the insecurity and conflictedness of the Hellenistic individual.[4] Angelos Chaniotis, when interpreting Hellenistic festivals and processions as a sign of the weakness and insecurity of the Hellenistic *poleis*, was working from, and not towards, a general notion.[5]

In the case of Hellenistic space, we might imagine a deductive approach underlying, for instance, a study of the Pergamon-Burg,[6] or the Eumeneian urbanistic expansion, or Alexandria and its royal quarters. These studies share a general notion of what Hellenistic kingship is about (derived from a variety of sources), and specific propositions that are conjured out of existence, in the face of the ancient remains, out of this general proposition. Or we could imagine a general thesis about decline and oligarchisation in the Hellenistic *polis*, seen as dominated by its elites, and go about reading the civic spaces of a, or indeed the, post-Classical city in function of these ideas. The *agora* would seem dominated by local aristocracies, a "teaching space" to enforce and enact social domination by the superrich ruling classes (soon associated with Roman rule), over powerless urban masses.

Three useful observations can be made about this type of approach. The good thing about this approach is its boldness, its willingness to connect big questions to specific evidence. Most synthetic articles probably operate, consciously or not, on this scheme. What is normal about this approach is

[1] Prag and Quinn 2013.

[2] On some of these issues, see Will 1998; Ma 2008; Kouremenos, Chandrasekaran, and Rossi 2011.

[3] Walter-Karydi 1998.

[4] Zanker 1993.

[5] Chaniotis 1995; see also Martzavou 2008.

[6] In the case of Hellenistic space, we might imagine a deductive approach determining, for instance, a study of the Pergamon-Burg, i.e. the Pergamon acropolis with its combination of monuments and royal-domestic installations, or of the reshaping of the whole town in the Eumeneian urbanistic expansion, or of royal urbanism at Alexandria. These studies would share a general notion of what Hellenistic kingship is about.

the inevitability of coming to the evidence with ideas and targets, which in fact "constitute" the evidence by shaping that which is seen or thoughts about it. The bad thing about this approach is that it often starts with big ideas that have passed their sell-by date, for instance notions of the "death of the *polis*", "demilitarised and powerless would-be citizens", "Hellenistic individualism", "religious anxiety" or "nostalgia for the past" (etc.) that are hotly contested, or indeed firmly rejected, by Hellenistic historians who rely on other evidence, or rather, a multitude of types of evidence in dynamic forms of cross-fertilisation. It is the "big ideas" drawn from textbooks, the obsolete orthodoxies, the clumsy imports from, say, analyses of a particular type of Hellenistic literature and aesthetics, that render a particular type of (thankfully increasingly rare) work on Hellenistic sculpture or art unreadable; it is important for the emerging field of "space studies" that they do not start off with the past decade's clichés about the Hellenistic.

The second method is the inductive approach. It starts with limited, specific observations, and aims at building general propositions that have greater validity. At its heart lies the patient registering of phenomena and patterns, descriptive exercises, narrative attempts across limited timespans. The significance of phenomena – or even their observation as phenomena – is developed by the accumulation of parallels. These are used to compare with the specific observations, either to thicken the dossier, or to define the phenomenon by contrasts. This is the methodology favoured notably by epigraphists, especially in their study of individual documents or types of documents. The deployment of parallels, and hence the (if I may say it) fetishisation of learning, has been a cornerstone of epigraphic methodology since Adolf Wilhelm, and developed to a fine art by Maurice Holleaux and Louis Robert.[7] In the field of Hellenistic sculpture, R. R. R. Smith's "handbook" is an extremely good example of inductive methodology, applied with great rigour, leading to general ideas about style in context rather than as part of chronological schemes, and about function.[8] In the case of space, an inductive approach underlies an archaeological approach that begins with seeing, and making us see, things on the ground and across time. Such an approach, almost *a fortiori*, underlies the accumulation of knowledge that emerges from the rhythm of excavation of major urban sites. These are the "big dig" whose results and findings are presented first in periodic reports, then in area publications, then by category of material, and finally, if at all, in the form of a synthetic monograph combining narrative and analysis, synchronic tranches and diachronic continuity, regional context, and a sense of the texture of socio-economic history.[9]

It may be worth making three remarks about this type of approach as well. The good thing about this approach is the patience and care taken, the willingness to uncover new knowledge as a basis for the elaboration of new findings, rather than the application (in a form of automatic writing) of the supposedly already known onto the new. A lot of run-of-the-mill archaeological publications are more or less structured using this approach. I say more or less, because, in fact, many archaeological or epigraphical publications do not rise to the inductive exercise of trying to see what the phenomena are, and where they point. This is one of the bad things about this approach. The other is that what looks like an inductive exercise might in fact be a deductive exercise, only camouflaged as the discovering of embedded facts proving preconceived, but unavowed, and perhaps even unnoticed, theories.

Both approaches, deductive and inductive, are, of course, at the heart of what we do as academics and scholars, and we should be able to practise both; it may simply be helpful to describe our activities in terms of such choices, as we elaborate a whole series of papers on space and change, written in the space of dialogue constructed by a working conference and its aftermath. It might equally be fruitful to think of the general propositions in two ways: first, are they the starting point or the arriving point of our processes? Second, are they yesterday's orthodoxies (which is bad)? Or are they working hypotheses in on-going conversations *à bâtons rompus* (which is good)? We should aim to pursue these conversations to take in the whole field of Hellenistic and post-Classical history, from the 350s down to Late Antiquity.

After these methodological considerations, a second general take on the problem of conflict in space is to ask what sort of theoretical tools we have to tackle this theme. I shall focus on three, not completely compatible (but certainly "mashable") approaches – without going at great length into the sources of their incompatibility at the theoretical level. The first is radical geography, and its theories of space – as embodied by the powerful work of David Harvey, and the exhilarating (but often incomprehensible) work of Henri Lefebvre.[10] The liberating impact (and baffling flavour) of Lefebvre is perfectly captured by the following passage:[11]

> *On peut donc poser les questions suivantes, parfaitement recevables: "Les espaces façonnés par l'activité pratico-sociale, les paysages, les mouments et bâtiments, onti-ils des signfications? L'espace occupé par un groupe social ou par plusieurs groupes peut-il passer pour un message? Doit-on concevoir l'oeuvre (architecturale ou urbaine comme un cas remarquable des mass-média? Un espace social peut-il se concevoir comme un langage, comme un discours, relevant d'une pratique définie, la lecture-écriture?"*
>
> We might, therefore, ask the following questions: "Do spaces shaped by social praxis, landscapes, monuments and buildings, have meanings? Is space, occupied by a social group or by several groups, liable to be inter-

[7] Ma 2009.
[8] Smith 1991.
[9] Examples of such work in Classical Archaeology are too numerous to need illustration here.
[10] Harvey 1973; Lefebvre 1974.
[11] Lefebvre 1974, 154.

> preted as a message? Should one conceive of the work (architectural or urban) as a specific case among the *mass media*? Can a social space be conceived as language, as discourse, belonging to the realm of a specific practice, writing-reading?"

The answers are "oui", "oui et non". "Un espace contient un message: mais se réduit-il à ce message? (A space contains a message: but is it reduced to this message?)", and "la réponse impliquera les plus grandes réserves. (Great caution should be taken when answering this.)"

Space is the "product" or the outcome of conflict between social forces, for instance, between capital and traditional structures, or rich and poor, or the state and private interests, or different ethnic groups (whether constructed out of situations or pre-existing ideas and placed in situations of encounter). Radical theories of space invite us to direct our registering of phenomena towards the interpretation of conflict. Which, then, are the Hellenistic spaces that are fruitful to study this way? These should include not just urban sites (such as the *agora* of Hellenistic Athens), but also whole poleis (such as Hellenistic Attica, across time), or whole regions[12] – with an awareness that these different dimensions are probably readable in each other, as imbricated but also communicating systems.[13] Thus the Athenian countryside, as knowable through historical geography, survey archaeology, epigraphy, and the literary sources, is a product of social relations that must be readable in the town, which itself has a relation (as market or as recipient of goods, as political centre) with the country. The Aetolian supra-regional space is the result of political choices that must make sense when we look at the federal capitals of the Aetolian state, but also at the impact of the inclusion of the international and historical "centre" of the Delphic shrine within this space, at the geography of war, at piracy and high politics in the third century. Similar examples could be explored for Roman Greece, or for the Byzantine world. In addition to these regional examples, we could also apply a theory of space and conflict to thematic approaches, such as the examination of the struggle between *polis* culture and powerful individuals, between *polis* territory and royal state, or (simply put) between the rich and the poor.

The second approach is the empathy-centred study of "place", rather than space. This approach can take various hues, and various political complexions (humanistic with Yi-Fu Tuan; more politically engaged with Dolores Hayden; artistic, conceptual and even philosophical with Lucy Lippard).[14] What matters is to study how choices and vectors played out on the ground, and what forms the "production of space" took in specific circumstances, namely lived contexts for human interaction and experience, which can be mapped emotionally and imaginatively, in terms of identity, experience, desire, meanings, memory. In the words of Tuan, "cities are places, because they can organize space into centres of meaning, ... fields of care, human networks, extended to place by iteration and religion."[15] This approach, in terms of the "sense of place", ties in with issues of local identity – issues which are very political, especially in a "global world" – which is why it has been very popular in recent years. This is exemplified in the way in which the global protest movement has taken the specific format of "Occupy [+ *this* place]", or in the rise of "glocalism" as a radical discourse. In the case of the study of Hellenistic space, this theory is applied to make us look at sites in a specific and rich way – not just as "spaces", but as *places*: the *agora* of Priene, the shrine of the Charites at Athens,[16] the Asklepieion at Messene are examples of meaningful places, as part of human histories. A "warm" history of memory and identity in a place would try to imagine lives lived in the excavated sites – to imagine them as fully as possible in their daily, political, but also their symbolical and ideological dimensions, to produce emplaced histories of joys, traumas, and changes in self-understanding. The study of Messene, a new city, with a particular culture of heroic memory perhaps embedded in the history of re-foundation as a conscious link with a constructed Messenian past, provides one instance of such a "warm" history of place.[17]

A third approach would be to look at space in terms of "institutions", in the sense that the economists use them: agreed rules and expectations or assumptions that shape behaviour and choices by individual actors in ways that produce aggregate outcomes. Space is both an "institution" and shaped by institutions: it creates (and limits) possibilities and incentives and disincentives. In turn, it is itself created and limited by the behaviour and choice of actors who aim at maximising their advantage. This is a possibility opened by the recent, exciting, and controversial development of "new institutional economics" in ancient history.[18] To give an institutional mapping of spatial phenomena invites us to look at space not so much as conflict but as a series of outcomes that would help us read the basic interactions underlying the socio-economic realities of the Hellenistic world, and the power relations that shaped and were shaped by these realities. A "spatio-institutionalist" approach might offer many angles on themes of Hellenistic history. For instance, the urban development of Hellenistic and Roman Athens[19]; or the patterns in economic development in the Aegean; or the shifts in settlement patterns, with different phenomena in mainland Greece and Asia Minor taking place at different rhythms; or the competitive networks of sacred places in the Hellenistic world, for instance the festival networks or the catchment areas of oracular shrines or the patterns of dedications[20] – these

[12] For instance the Hellenistic Peloponnese, or the "Aetolian space" constructed by violence and diplomacy in the third century BC, in mainland Greece around Aetolian-held Delphi, but also in the Aegean.
[13] On the Peloponnese, Shipley 2008. On Aetolia, Scholten 2000 but also Lefèvre 1998 with Ma 2005.
[14] Tuan 1974 (followed by other works), Hayden 1995, Lippard 1997.
[15] Tuan 1974, 239.
[16] Monaco 2001.
[17] Themelis 2003.
[18] Bresson 2007-8; Ober 2010.
[19] Martzavou 2009.
[20] Chandezon 2000.

	Power	Ethnicity	Economies
Radical theories of space	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cuddly theories of place	Yes	Yes	?
Hard theories of institutions	Yes	?	Yes

Figure 1. How to talk about the Hellenistic world.

are all themes that might be fruitfully analysed in terms of institutional impacts.

Space and place, space and conflict. A spatial approach might help us to explore the three great themes of Hellenistic history: power, ethnicity, and wealth. First, there is the social history of power, with its diverse actors (king, citizen, villager, soldier);[21] second, the social history of ethnicity, between Greek and non-Greek, with difficult problems of finding the right model (colonial, post-colonial, non-colonial).[22] Third, there is the economic history of the Hellenistic world, with, notably, the problem of determining how wealth is generated. Does it derive from land and accumulation (rent extraction) or capitalism and speculation (trade and exchange) – or both?[23] The three approaches outlined above might be more or less suited for each of these three themes.

Alternatively, the challenge might be to be able to practice all three approaches, and to be constantly aware of all three themes – within deductive or inductive schemes. A model here is offered by modern urban history, for instance in John J. Czaplicka, Blair A. Ruble, Lauren Crabtree's *Composing Urban History*. This work combines a sense of space (with suitably Lefebvrian suspicion of representational space) and a sense of place (with an empathetic sense of political desire). It comes to a sophisticated understanding that civic history does not have to be the history of the successes and enduring stability of communitarian ideology (as Greek historians often think civic history has to be), but can also be the history of conflict and tension.[24]

Can students of the Hellenistic world produce such a civic history? We might consider Priene, one of the best-known Hellenistic townscapes.[25] The city-state of Priene was very old, but the town uncovered by archaeologists is a "new town", set out and rebuilt in the fourth century BC.

The site was surrounded by a powerful fortification wall that defines the town itself but also encloses the acropolis on top of the cliff that dominates the site. The town was laid out as a grid, covering a hillside (so that all north-west streets are stairways), that alternates between tightly packed private housing and expansive public spaces: the *agora* (public square), the shrine of Athena, the theatre, the gymnasia. Even now, this city of cut stone gives an impression of order and thoughtfulness, in the sometimes exhausting rationality of its grid plan imposed on geographical elevation, in the unified texture, in the proportion of the streets, the abundant provision of water channelled down from a mountain spring to a system of public fountains (all the way down to the *gymnasion*), whose overflow washed down the streets. The city can be regarded as a work of art: the beauty of Priene, as a cultural assemblage of artefacts, reflects political choices and a long-term, multi-generational investment in urban infra-structure as a project of pride and continuity. The massive ashlar, cement-free courses of the city walls rest directly on a first course cut from the stone itself: the very fabric of the city seems to spring from the living rock, and makes the claim that nature and culture can be united in this particular place, for these particular people; urbanism is a form of rootedness in place.

The urban fabric also can be read ideologically and politically. The distinction between private spaces and clearly marked, shared, public spaces seems crucial. The housing units, fitted within a strict grid, hint at egalitarian and even homogenising pressures. This "democracy of housing" plays a great role in the readings of *polis*

[21] Will 1998; Chaniotis 2005.
[22] Bagnall 1997; Will 1998.
[23] Now Archibald, Davies and Gabrielsen 2011.
[24] Czaplica, Ruble and Crabtree 2003.
[25] Wiegand and Schrader 1904; Rumscheid 1998.

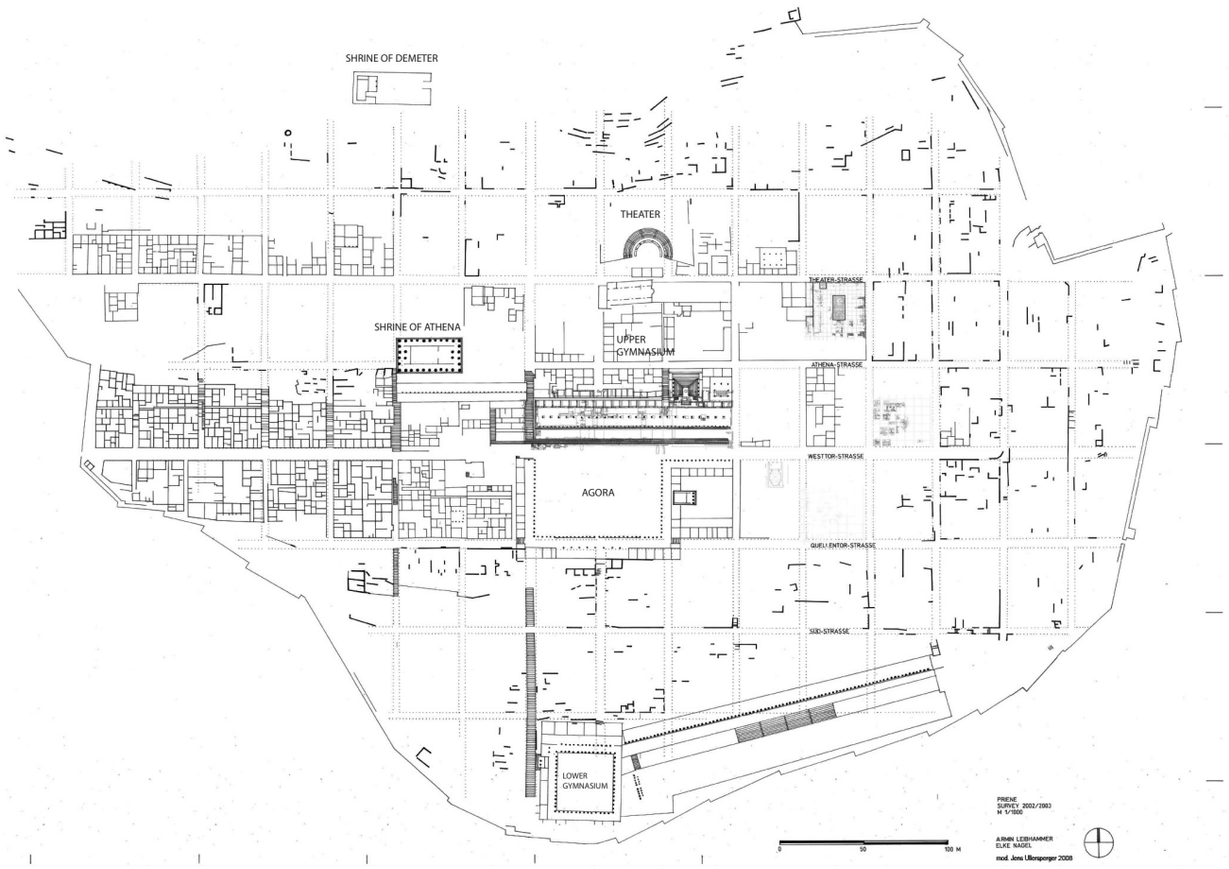

Figure 2. Priene.

space offered by Wolfram Hoepfner and Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner,[26] who generalise from such examples – read deductively, not quite as the story of "place" but also not as a radical history of space. They instead proceed to read space as a confirmation of optimistic statements about the democratic nature of the *polis*: in a way, this is an institutionalist reading of civic space, only within the "Goldilocks", just-right, model of the *polis'* success at balancing social tension with civic ideology.

A political reading can also be given for the public spaces of Priene.

The *agora*, the main public space,[27] is separated from the smaller, functional space where food trading took place; the *agora* itself was ceremonial, an honorific space, where the community honoured good men, citizens or foreigners. Their names and the decisions of the community to honour them were inscribed, and full-size portraits in bronze were set up – the monuments constituted an extensive series of 60 or more statues, stretching across the *agora*. In a striking materialisation of a political culture of recognition, this series offered an image of the constraining effect of a culture of recognition and emulation. This political space was lived: many elements in the townscape hint at choices and actions made by individuals living their daily lives. For instance, boys went to the *gymnasion*, and, over generations, carved their names ("This is the place of X") on the walls of the main lecture room – another form of rootedness that had political implications.

These lives took place within a Prienian history that can be read in the public "literature" left by the Prienians – their inscribed decrees and laws and dedications, which show the community of citizens engaged in the political work of taking and implementing decisions – even if, or precisely because, the "epigraphical habit" is mainly devoted to honouring the worthy, this material gives a vivid picture of what the Prienians thought mattered. The inscriptions of Priene[28] also show the institutions of the city at work, and the political principles behind the institutions: mass decision, collegiality, rotation, limits on executive power, accountability, and basic assumptions about the primacy of the public. This, then, would be a new, *polis*-centred, positive reading of Priene as space and as place. But we could also offer a more conflictual reading of Prienian spaces – or at least one that admits to competition.

[26] Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994.

[27] See generally von Kienlin 2004; the analysis here is developed in Ma 2013. On the Prienian agora, and the agora in general, see Giannikouri 2011 (especially Siehlhorst 2011); Bielfeld 2012. There is also Dickenson 2011, although I have not had the opportunity to consult it myself.

[28] Published as a main corpus by Hiller von Gaertringen 1906.

Figure 3: The walls of Priene.

The statues across the *agora* were in fact set up in one go ca. 130 BC, in a public decision to reorganise the honorific monuments in a single series that captured singularity and distinction within an organised row of statues; they represent an effort at controlling what was probably a highly competitive space where public statues and private statues jostled for prime real estate. The secondary series reshaped, and perhaps ruined, the *agora*; it also cut off the southern part of the square from the "avenue" constituted by the main series. An effort to seed the south-facing line of statues with bases failed. The response of Prienian elites seems to have been to colonise other parts of the *agora*, notably the northern edge – especially because some bases had escaped the reorganisation, and hence were left as

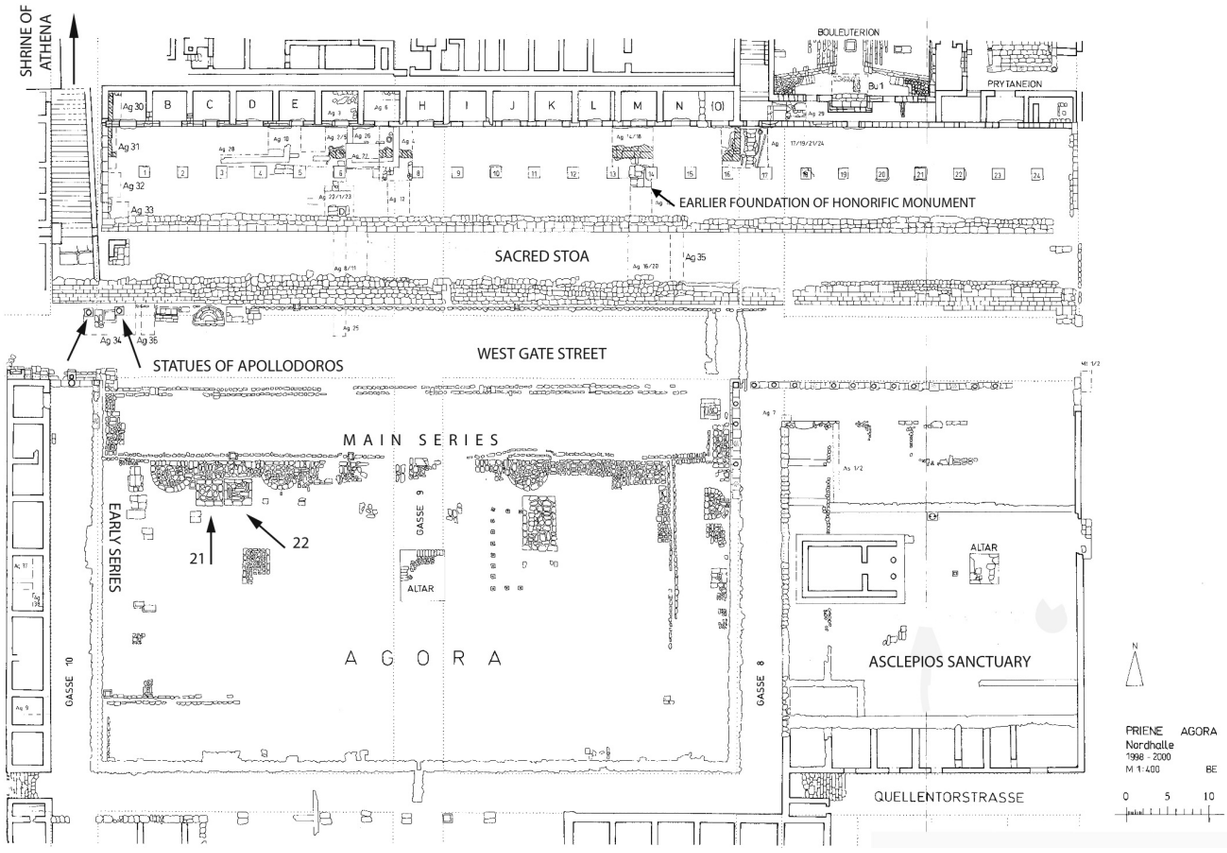

Figure 4. The *Agora* of Priene.

provocative exceptions. The result of the "main series" was not harmonious statue growth in the incipient south-facing row, but the emergence of new statue growth in the hypervisible northern edge of the "statue street", in the form of extremely conspicuous monuments, often combining public and private statues in portfolios of family eminence. In other words, the main representational space of the *polis* of Priene reveals not a picture of harmony, but of competition between various bodies – of which the "public actor", the city itself, seems to be only one. The space of the *agora* is not an institution of justice and community, shaping social action, but a repository for the decisions and strategies of competing social actors.

Another conflictual reading of Prienian space would be to view Priene, and its rootedness, its beauty, its "placeness", not as givens but as social constructs with precise strategic aims. The city's image, as constructed in its carefully managed spaces, might be directed at a host of rivals and threats: the rival cities such as Magnesia and Miletos; the kings and their men (and their claim to wealth and luxury and style, but their lack of rootedness); the non-Greek villagers ("Plainsmen") in the territory, whose labour and whose rents supported the fine urban setting and lifestyle of the citizens, and whose subordinate status was made clear by their exclusion from urban spaces of beauty and order. Realised utopian urban ornament and beauty might have acted as a way to create civic solidarity against internal enemies (slaves), but also stifle debate and social unrest. This might be the context in which to view the egalitarian grid of the city: it proclaimed social justice and communitarian values, but as shared by the members of the civic elite. The effect was both to reinforce the solidarity of the urban group of citizens, and to exclude Plainsmen when they visited Priene, and to make this exclusion visible. The absence of visible economic spheres made displayed a fiction: that of a community of political active individuals, not engaged in chrematistic activity. This fiction only makes more acute the reality that Prienian wealth was built on rent extraction, and that market facilities were merely provided of peasants to transform kind into cash in order to pay rent, rent managed by citizen landlords.

These are simply some musings about where to see conflict in space; many more examples could be conjured – for instance, Livy's account (drawn from Polybios) of dynastic conflict in the last years of Philip V played out across interlocking Macedonian spaces, from the whole nation and "Mount Haemus" to the streets of Pella and the inner recesses of the huge palace;[29] or the faux-realité dialogue between Syracusan women in the streets of Alexandria (Theokritos *Idyll* 15). In this short paper, I have offered some thoughts and vistas on the processes of reading space – Hellenistic urban space in particular – historically: a process which must be holistic and informed by the whole of the field, in dynamic processes of collaboration and discussion.

[29] E.g., Liv. 40.21-4; Hatzopoulos 2001; Ma 2011.

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Public Squares for Barbarians? The Development of *Agorai* in Pisidia

Rob Rens

Introduction

The agora was at the heart of city life in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and was arguably the most urbanized environment encountered by city and country-dwellers alike.[1] *Agorai*, or *fora* when the Latin equivalent is used, are intriguing spaces in both the geographical and social sense: public squares were not only meeting places for local citizens, but also much-admired places of attraction for residents of the wider region, or visitors from abroad. Authors such as Pausanias note how the bustle of the agora often made the most significant first impression on new visitors to a city, who would arrive at this urban focal point simply by entering a city gate and strolling up any seemingly important street.[2] This paper will compare the *agorai* of seven cities in Pisidia, exploring the development of public architecture and space in the region between 333 BC and the end of the 3rd century AD. The overall aim of this study is to identify patterns in the form, style and function of Pisidian *agorai* both architectonically and culturally. In this context, the paper will also investigate the specific elements of Pisidian *agorai* that may be considered typically regional or influenced by the most influential cultures of their times (i.e. 'Greek Hellenistic' or 'Roman Imperial'), and pinpoint when these elements emerged in Pisidia in order to assess whether they appeared simultaneously or if there are sites where new elements emerged significantly earlier than at other sites in the region. Ultimately, the paper argues for the necessity of understanding (or attempting to understand) the attitude of local communities towards the continuity of their own traditions and how this local attitude affected the remaking and remodelling of these traditions into new architectural trends – trends that developed in the Mediterranean from the dawn of the Hellenistic period onwards on a scale that was never before seen. This same local attitude suggests that the *communis opinio* of ancient historians and modern scholars that the inhabitants of Pisidia were warlike barbarians is an over-exaggerated statement.

Furthermore, by comparing and contrasting the cultural trends in *agorai,* it becomes possible to distinguish the features which contributed directly or indirectly to the development and maintenance of a regional identity different from the appearance of *agorai* in neighbouring regions. This close study of Pisidia also helps us to contextualize the larger and more theoretical debate on acculturation processes throughout the Ancient Mediterranean which have, in the past, been called 'Hellenization' and 'Romanization', and on what these processes meant for a particular city or region. These processes of acculturation have long been subject to debate, but go beyond the scope of this paper. However, it should be noted that the debate on 'Romanization' has taken some interesting turns since its early appearance in F. J. Haverfield's 1912 work, where he argued that Romanization was the transformation of local barbarians into Romans, but only under the influence of 'real', conquering Romans. Undoubtedly, Haverfield's arguments stem from the vivid colonial mentality of the 19th and early 20th centuries.[3] This kind of deterministic, ethno-nationalistic thinking also influenced early attempts to understand Hellenization.[4] The theory of Romanization was later transformed by the more nuanced imagery of scholars such as Millett, focussing on the role of local elites in Britannia, who received a more active role than in Haverfield's Romanization.[5] There were and are of course scholars who reacted against these concepts of 'Hellenization' and 'Romanization' from a post-colonial viewpoint.[6] Examples of these post-colonial reactions are typified by theories of 'creolization' and 'hybridity' which have proved useful in giving a rightful place to the 'native',[7] who has an active role (beyond accepting or rejecting aspects of another one's culture) in cultural contacts as well.[8] These post-colonial approaches have been criticised in return for their insistence on always holding 'native' culture as a pure entity, being corrupted by 'non-native' cultural influences at a later phase. However, in spite of their dissimilarities, all these theories share an important emphasis on the actions of the conquered peoples, the natives, in response to an outside force. Using the words of M. Pitts: "cultural change did not occur in a vacuum".[9]

Thus, 'Romanization' is now understood as transforming cultural contacts through a more dialectical process that may have multiple outcomes depending on the specific location and social situation. This dialectic process is certainly true for the Roman East, including Pisidia, where such multi-directional transfers resulted in a variety of new provincial cultures that were, nevertheless, considered

1 De Polignac 2007, 55.
2 For instance at the Athenian agora, see Pausanias I.17.1-2.
3 Haverfield (1912).
4 Hall (1997, 1).
5 Millett (1990).
6 Rossi (2011, 2); Coleman, this volume.
7 Webster (2001). The concept of creolization was taken from linguistics, where it represents two different languages that blend into a new dialect.
8 A good overview of the use of the concept of cultural hybridization with critical notes on the use of the terminology can be found in Stockhammer (2012).
9 Pitts (2008, 504).

validly 'Roman'.[10] D. Mattingly, for instance, has stressed the existence of 'discrepant identities' in which local differences are enlightened better than in older concepts of cultural contacts.[11] Other scholars, such as G. Woolf,[12] have focussed on the global versus the local, in which local responses to more 'global' evolutions are given primacy. Further, the notion of individual 'agency' has stepped into the academic foreground as an analytical tool borrowed from social studies.[13] Ultimately, what is clear to us now is that former grand unifying theories of acculturation have failed to live up to their sweeping promises and that many scholars are attempting to uncover new ways of describing this dialectic in less general and more specific terms – terms capable of encompassing the results of multiple cultural contacts, each with their own focal point and origin.

Given the lack of a shared theoretical approach within the academic community, it is imperative to simply turn back to the archaeological evidence, where we can put these theories into practice. Studying *agorai* in Pisidia allows us to assess how a particular local identity was shaped, identify who was responsible for this shaping, and speculate how a local agora could fit into a more 'global evolution'. By concentrating on these issues in a very focused context, we can avoid the trap of defining 'Romanization' simply as the result of contact and instead develop ideas about how wider transformations take place.[14]

Pisidia

Pisidia is a good starting place for developing theories about local identities within larger acculturation processes. The region is itself an interesting playground for research as a result of both its geographical conditions and its particular history. Pisidia is situated between the plains of Pamphylia in the southwest of Anatolia, adjacent to the Mediterranean sea at the bay of Antalya and the Phrygian highlands to the north (Figure 1).[15] The region is bordered by Lycia in the southwest, by the Kibyratis (of which Kibyra was the largest city) in the northwest and by Isauria to the east. There are no clear geographic boundaries to the region, though the landscape was demarcated by the three largest lakes in western Anatolia in the past: Lake Burdur in the northwest, Lake Eğirdir in the central north and Lake Beyşehir in the east. These lake districts, which distinguish the northern part of Pisidia from the rest of southwest Anatolia, are surrounded by very fertile plains and were attractive to settlers since modern humans first passed through. Three north-south oriented rivers slice through the landscape towards the southern coast: the Aksu Çayı (named Kestros in Antiquity), Koca Çayı (Eurymedon) and the Manavgat Çayı (Melas).[16] Since these rivers pass through canyons or tend to get wild at some locations, they did little to foster communication between the inland and the coast of southwest Anatolia. In general, Pisidia is dominated by mountainous terrain, with a number of very high peaks exceeding 2400 meters as well as very steep slopes towards valleys nearby. These dramatic variations in the landscape cause problems even to this day for transport (such as marble[17]) and were the source of many challenges for urban construction works as far back to Antiquity. As a result of this challenging geography, it is clear that what relatively little large, flat terrain there was functioned as ideal 'corridors' of communication through the region. The most important of these corridors ran inland from Lycia (in connection with Fethiye on the border of Lycia with Caria) over Isinda towards Lake Burdur, and from Antalya (the ancient city of Attaleia) towards Lake Burdur, passing through the territories of Ariassos and Sia.[18] Another shorter corridor is situated on the north-south line between Lake Eğirdir and the city of Adada. This landscape – with its rugged mountains, narrow channels of dense habitation and cultivation, and difficult transportation network – was a critical factor in determining the pathways of cultural connectivity for the region.[19]

In addition to its challenging landscape, Pisidia affords an important historical setting, which distinguishes it from that of other regions in Anatolia. The region was inhabited during the Archaic and Classical periods by several groups or tribes, such as the Solymoi in the southwest,[20] the Milyadeis in the northwest, and the Pisidians themselves.[21] Contemporary information on the various groups in this region has been provided by ancient authors, including Herodotus and Strabo (all of our available written sources on the Pisidians are Greek).[22] Archaeologically, however, these tribes are not yet well differentiated.[23] While a few inscriptions from early Imperial times indicate that a local Pisidian dialect was still spoken in a few specific locations,

[10] See Berns and Vandeput (2002); Wallace-Hadrill (2008), especially on the influence of Hellenistic culture on the 'new' Roman Imperial culture; Kenzler (2013).
[11] Mattingly (2004), (2006) and (2011, 203-245).
[12] Woolf (1994) gives a good introduction to the 'Romanization' debate in the Roman East, which differs largely from the situation in the Roman West, studied by Haverfield and Millett, amongst others. The Greek East experienced a strong Hellenistic influence before its increasing cultural contacts with the Roman world. Woolf (1997) gives a good introduction to the ideas on local responses to larger changes. For thinking local and global, see also Whitmarsh (2010).
[13] The social theories that have found their way in the archaeological debate are those of Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984). The Actor-Network-Theory has been introduced by Latour (2005).
[14] Schörner (2005, 5-9).
[15] Schwertheim (1992, 1).
[16] de Planhol (1958); Arena (2006, 48-49).
[17] Waelkens (2008, 8-9). Whereas the cheap Proconessian marble was imported via the Pamphylian harbours and can be found in abundance in the plains, this marble is very scarce in Pisidia as transportation costs to enter the Pisidian Mountains were too high. This explains why Pisidia was rather dependent on the more expensive Phrygian marble from Dokimeion.
[18] Poblome (in press).
[19] Horden and Purcell (2000).
[20] On the debate whether or not the Solymoi still existed in Hellenistic and Roman Imperial times, see Coulton (2008, 17-25).
[21] Arena (2006, 29-30).
[22] Herodotus I.173; III.90 and VII.77; Strabo, *geographia.*
[23] The pottery of the Archaic and Classical periods indicates a rather strong sense of unity in the material culture of these tribes and in the wider region during this time. Initial studies suggest that it will be difficult to distinguish the different tribes on an archaeological basis. For further information on the material evidence in Pisidia during the Archaic and Classical periods, see Poblome (in press).

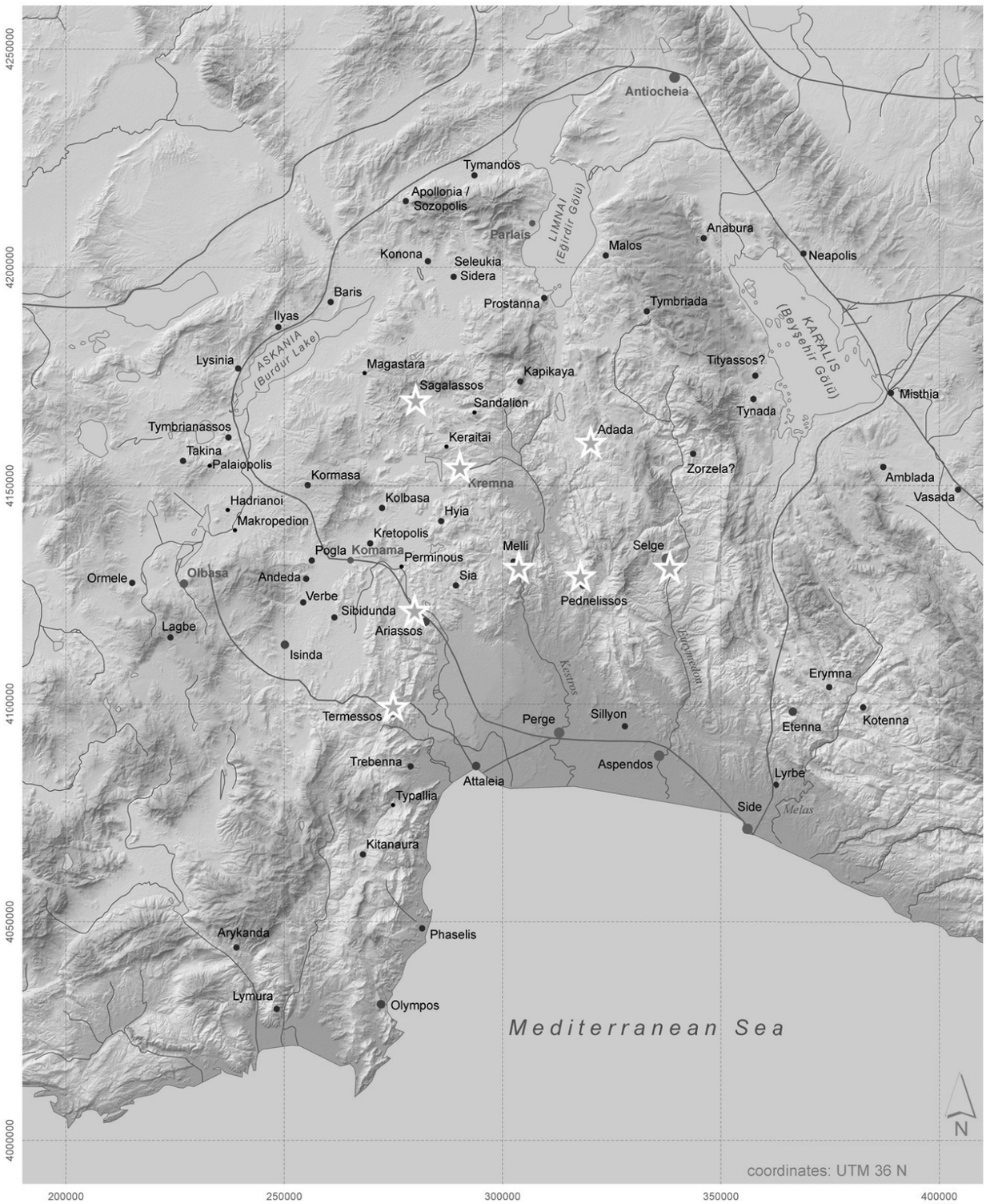

Figure 1: The region of Pisidia and Pamphylia with their most important sites. The stars indicate sites of which the agora/ agorai will be discussed in this article. The red dots identify the colonies founded by Augustus (Map adapted by R. Rens and J. Theelen from Mitchell 1991: fig.1).

such as Sofular,[24] it is currently impossible to distinguish all previously mentioned ethnic groups by their language. Nevertheless, linguistic research has pointed out that the Solymoi and the Milyadeis most likely shared common origins with the Pisidians,[25] and all these groups probably arrived in Anatolia during the migration of the so-called Ur-Luwian group at around 2300 BC.[26] Already in the Achaemenid period, the Pisidians were considered (a) war-like tribe(s), and were described as ideal lightly-armed mercenaries in the Persian army of Xerxes,[27] though their participation in rioting against the Persians under the reign of Artaxerxes II (405/4–359/8 BC) also had the effect of classifying them as a dangerous element for the Persians.[28]

While authors such as Xenophon and Strabo,[29] the latter writing during the Roman period, also depict the Pisidians as war-like, unruly and barbarians, archaeological evidence may shed a different light on their culture. Despite the fact that the Pisidians were under Achaemenid rule in the days of Herodotus and Xenophon, it has been demonstrated that they came into close contact with Greek products and culture. On the south coast in Pamphylia, Greek colonies were founded around the 8th or 7th century BC. Although Mycenean pottery has been identified at some sites, strong evidence for Mycenean settlements is lacking.[30] Still, these colonies, such as Aspendos and Phaselis on the border with Lycia, where Rhodian pottery from the 7th century BC has been identified, were some of the oldest urban centres in the wider region, together with other communities such as Perge and Side.[31] These local communities in Pamphylia had close connections with Greeks present in the region as colonists as well as with those visiting the Pamphylian harbours to trade.

While it had long been in the path of Greek commerce and culture, Pisidia's real debut in the world of the Hellenes occurred only after the conquest of Anatolia by Alexander the Great, described in detail by Arrian.[32] The succession wars at the beginning of the 3rd century BC enabled the Pisidians to provide troops to both the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, the latter of which possessed land stretching nearby from Lycia over Pamphylia to Cilicia on the south coast of Anatolia.[33] These conflicts provided not only an opportunity for gaining treasure and finding other wartime profits for the inhabitants of the region, but also provided a context for the Pisidians to come into direct contact with a fully Greek way of living.

Importantly, the settlement pattern in Pisidia changed between the Classical and Hellenistic period with new, large settlements on hilltops emerging during the Classical period (547/6–333 BC). Examples of this are Sagalassos, where a range of terraces developed during the Classical period in the site's eastern suburbia suggests that a large structured community was living there and nearby at Düzen Tepe, only 1.8 km east of Sagalassos.[34] The latter site had its own fortifications, traffic patterns, and economic specialization. In addition to these emerging hilltop sites, smaller 'agricultural' settlements and hamlets have been identified in Pisidia's fertile valleys, such as the Burdur Plain mentioned above. This was a continuation and extension of the settlement patterns begun during the Archaic period (c. 750–546 BC).[35] However, the turmoil of the Hellenistic period caused these valley settlements to be abandoned in favour of the relatively secure (though agriculturally marginal) hilltops and mountain flanks. Whereas the largest centres during pre-Classical times developed along corridors of flat terrain, the new, larger centres in the region developed at a longer distance from such natural thoroughfares. Sites at higher elevations were of course easier to defend and the increase in the number of such settlements may be explained by an increase in military activities throughout the region.[36] Some of these hilltop sites managed to develop into proper civic centres, while neighbouring sites remained smaller and did not develop their own political institutions. These smaller sites were probably politically dominated by the larger and more robust urban communities. A similar settlement hierarchy most certainly did not exist during the pre-Hellenistic period. Examples of this can be seen in the aforementioned Burdur Plain. From the Classical period onwards, a changing settlement pattern can be noticed in several parts of Pisidia: Sagalassos in north Pisidia, Selge in south Pisidia, and Termessos in southwest Pisidia.

The Hellenistic period in Pisidia was also marked by the political caesura between Seleucids and Attalid rule. After the battle of Apamea (189 BC), where Rome and Pergamon triumphed over Antiochos III, a peace treaty was signed in which all territories west of the Taurus Mountains (including Pisidia) were handed over from the Seleucid to the Attalid kingdom. The so-called Peace of Apamea brought about not only an administrative switch for Pisidia, but also – from the beginning of the 3rd century BC – an architectural evolution from defensive building to the sustained urban development of the region.[37] Indeed, the construction of most city walls as well as most of the freestanding fortresses in the region has been dated to the Seleucid period. While there were also fortresses that were constructed during the Attalid period, such as those of Ören

[24] Sofular is located in the territory of Tymbriada. The fact that inscriptions in a dialect were found mostly at this location, and only exceptionally in the territory of Sagalassos (Büğdüz) and at Selge raises further questions. Was this a 'dialect' of the Pisidian language spoken throughout the whole region, or was it largely restricted to the area of Sofular? Such questions currently remain unanswered due to the absence of inscriptions from other locations in Pisidia either in dialect or any Anatolian languages.
[25] Waelkens (2012, 8).
[26] Melchert (2003).
[27] Herodotus VII.72.
[28] Arena (2006, 29); Marek (2010, 202-203).
[29] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I.2.1 is the first work to mention the Pisidians. See also Strabo, *geographia*.
[30] Marek (2010, 169).
[31] Işık (1996, 27).
[32] Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*.
[33] A very good introduction to this period can be found in Waelkens (2002, 313-321).
[34] Vanhaverbeke (2010).
[35] Poblome (in press).
[36] Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens (2003).
[37] Mitchell (1991a, 123).

Tepe near Panemoteichos[38] and Yarıköy and Insuyu in the territory of Sagalassos,[39] the dates of all city walls are currently still based on comparative work, and it is hoped that test-soundings may confirm the dates or shed a more nuanced light on the emergence of defensive architecture in the region.

Following the inheritance of Pergamon by Rome (133 BC), the Pisidian cities remained more or less independent, to be totally integrated into the Imperial province of Galatia only from 25 BC onwards.[40] The rule of Augustus also provides another clear turning point in the history of the region. In addition to the foundation of thirteen new *coloniae* in Asia Minor – five of which were founded in Pisidia by Augustus – to house a large number of veterans from the second civil war,[41] the region's communication network with other parts of Anatolia as well as the wider Roman world was augmented by the development of the *via Sebaste*. This new road system connected inland Pisidia with the Pamphylian harbours of Perge and Side which proved crucial for the economic advancement of the entire region.

Agorai as a material category

Collecting various kinds of evidence from Hellenistic and Roman *agorai* in Pisidia is not always an easy task. The material has never before been studied as a whole. It is also important to note that not all of the *agorai* in Pisidia have been identified as of yet, in particular the *agorai* of most cities in north and east Pisidia and many smaller cities in the central and western part of the region.[42] This leaves us only with the *agorai* that have been excavated and those that have been surveyed (in alphabetical order): Adada, Ariassos, Kremna (two *agorai*), Melli, Pednelissos, Sagalassos (two *agorai*), Selge (two *agorai*), and Termessos (see Figure 1). This list presents a strong mix of cities in the south and west, and data about the *agorai* discussed in this paper will have been obtained both from scholarly publications as well as from personal visits and inspections of the terrain by the author. Among these well-studied *agorai* there are critical discrepancies in the kind of data available, since some of the *agorai* have only been studied by survey – sometimes very intensively, sometimes only superficially – while other *agorai* have been properly excavated (e.g., both the *agorai* of Sagalassos and the Forum of Longus in Kremna). Naturally, the full excavations have yielded much more detailed information on the chronological sequence of changes and cultural significance of the *agorai*, and special attention will be paid to sites with a more complete record.

Because *agorai* served as major, centralized meeting points for locals and non-locals alike, I will begin by sketching the physical and cultural situation of the *agorai* in Pisidia. Normally, the study of *agorai* is two-fold: on the one hand, it is a straightforward topographical survey (i.e., where and built from what), and on the other it is a more subtle inquiry investigating human interaction – whether from a political, economical, religious or social perspective. Viewing *agorai* in their topographical context entails, first of all, considering the agora in its natural setting, which, unsurprisingly, had the greatest impact on the dimensions of *agorai*. While the unaltered terrain of some locations was suited for the construction of the conventional large square agora, the natural forms of plateaus at other locations may have necessitated a more oblong agora. At still other locations, however, the landscape was reworked in order to create a square – a shape that did not correspond to the original landscape. This could have been accomplished by digging away and removing – either in part or in full – slopes and uneven terrain descending from hillsides, filling in depressions with earth, or using larger depressions as a *cryptoporticus* (covered corridor or passageway, often vaulted and semi-subterranean) or as cisterns. Through the scale of such landscape planning, *agorai* provide a relative measure of the available resources and ambitions of a city, and may thus be regarded as a vital aspect of a city's urbanization. Therefore, it is critical to examine not only where an agora was situated in the city, but also its accessibility and the vantages from which it was most visible, while also accounting for the neighbouring public and private buildings. These allow us to view the agora as a political, economic, or religious 'heart' of the city – or as a combination of these social components. In this case, chronology emerges as a key question within all of these considerations, as it is crucial to understand whether other important elements of urbanization were already in effect before, in tandem with, or after the construction of an agora, and if and how these elements affected its development.

Methodology

The physical and environmental study of *agorai* takes place on a number of different levels: a topographical analysis, a study of the buildings and monuments on and bordering the *agorai*, and the general internal layout of the squares and their decoration.

The topographical analysis stretches from the general location of the city in a landscape to the specific setting of the agora inside the city. The buildings and monuments on and bordering the agora provide us with the most information; in the case of a small survey, it is often possible to recognize at least a few building types surrounding an agora and begin to hint at the larger role it played in its community. When *agorai* are not totally overgrown by vegetation or reclaimed by the natural environment in other ways, it is even possible to recognize the original orientations of buildings, contributing to our understanding of an agora's general shape. The categories of decoration within the agora, together with its layout,

[38] Mitchell (1997, 170).
[39] Waelkens (2000, 25-159); Waelkens (2004, 447). The fortresses on the Sagalassian territory are constructed with a similar building technique.
[40] Arena (2006, 75-78).
[41] The standard work for these colonies is still Levick (1967).
[42] Also, publications of *agorai* with many unidentified buildings and scarcely dated material have not been included in this study in order to ensure that trends visible in this dataset are highlighted as clearly as possible. This resulted in a study that focuses more on sites of Southern Pisidia, where more detailed information is available.

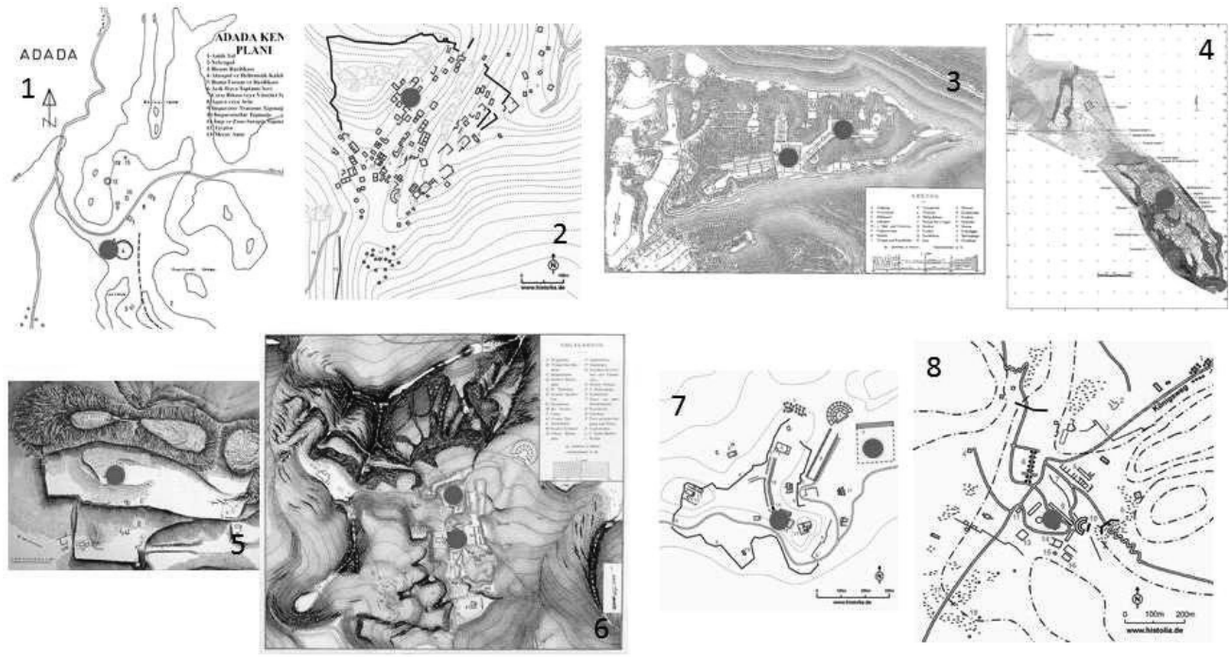

Figure 2: The location of *agorai* in Pisidia in their particular cities (Rob Rens): 1. Adada – 2. Ariassos – 3. Kremna – 4. Melli – 5. Pednelissos – 6. Sagalassos – 7. Selge – 8. Termessos

work together (or against each other) to establish a feeling of 'unity' in the square itself. Therefore, it is necessary/ important to examine just how the ornamental schemes of buildings interplayed, as well as whether they were the result of public or private building programmes, or, finally, the continuation or rupture of existing building traditions.

The *agorai* of Pisidia in context

1. Adada

The agora of Adada (Figure 2.1) and its surrounding monuments are the first ruins one encounters when visiting the site as they are positioned along the border of the plateau on which the urban centre is located. The agora was a 32m x 45m rectangular square (Figure 3.1). Along one of the shorter north and south sides, the square was abutted by a staircase on its east side that led to the city walls and this staircase was flanked by a tower. The staircase has been interpreted as an open-air place for political assembly, which could have hosted meetings of the *boulè* or the *gerousia*.[43] Such open air meeting places are a typical local tradition in Pisidia, and have been identified at Kapıkaya and Sia as well.[44] The long sides of the agora were flanked by shops and a basilica measuring 9.5m x 43m. The other short side of the agora has not yet been excavated. Most of the statue bases on the agora have been dated to the second and third centuries AD.[45] Based on this, it seems that the Adada agora attained its final shape during this period. The open-air meeting place on the staircase has been dated to the 2nd century BC through comparison with other similar meeting places in the region (Kapıkaya, Sia), indicating that the agora predated the Roman Imperial period. Additionally, a *pi*-shaped *stoa* north of the market building at Adada was identified by the author during a personal visit. This *stoa* may indicate the presence of either a second, rather well-structured agora or a *gymnasium*. It is, however, too early to draw further conclusions on these remains without further excavation.

2. Ariassos

The agora of Ariassos, located in the southwest of Pisidia and established in 189 BC, was studied in a city survey that took place between 1988 and 1990 under the auspices of Stephen Mitchell and Eddie Owens of the Pisidia Survey project. Ariassos was situated on two hillsides, with a gateway leading up to the city centre in between the opening formed by the hills' flanks. From this position, the city could control the two valleys to the east and west. The agora itself was situated on the southern flank and visible from the valley to the east as well as the gateway south of the flank (Figure 2.2). The agora was located on narrow, but flat terrain that was never artificially enlarged by substructures on its southernmost side (Figure 3.2). The agora displayed the following elements: a *stoa*, a *bouleuterion*, and a *prytaneion* of 7m by 7m. A temple was located at the western side of the square. The *bouleuterion* was 18.10m x 13.90m and, together with the *stoa*, is probably one of the oldest buildings on the agora, dating to the late Hellenistic period. The plan of the *bouleuterion* shows many similarities with the *bouleuterion* of Termessos and the odeion of Pergamon, suggesting

[43] Waelkens (2004, 455).
[44] Rens (forthcoming).
[45] Büyükkolancı (1998, 21).

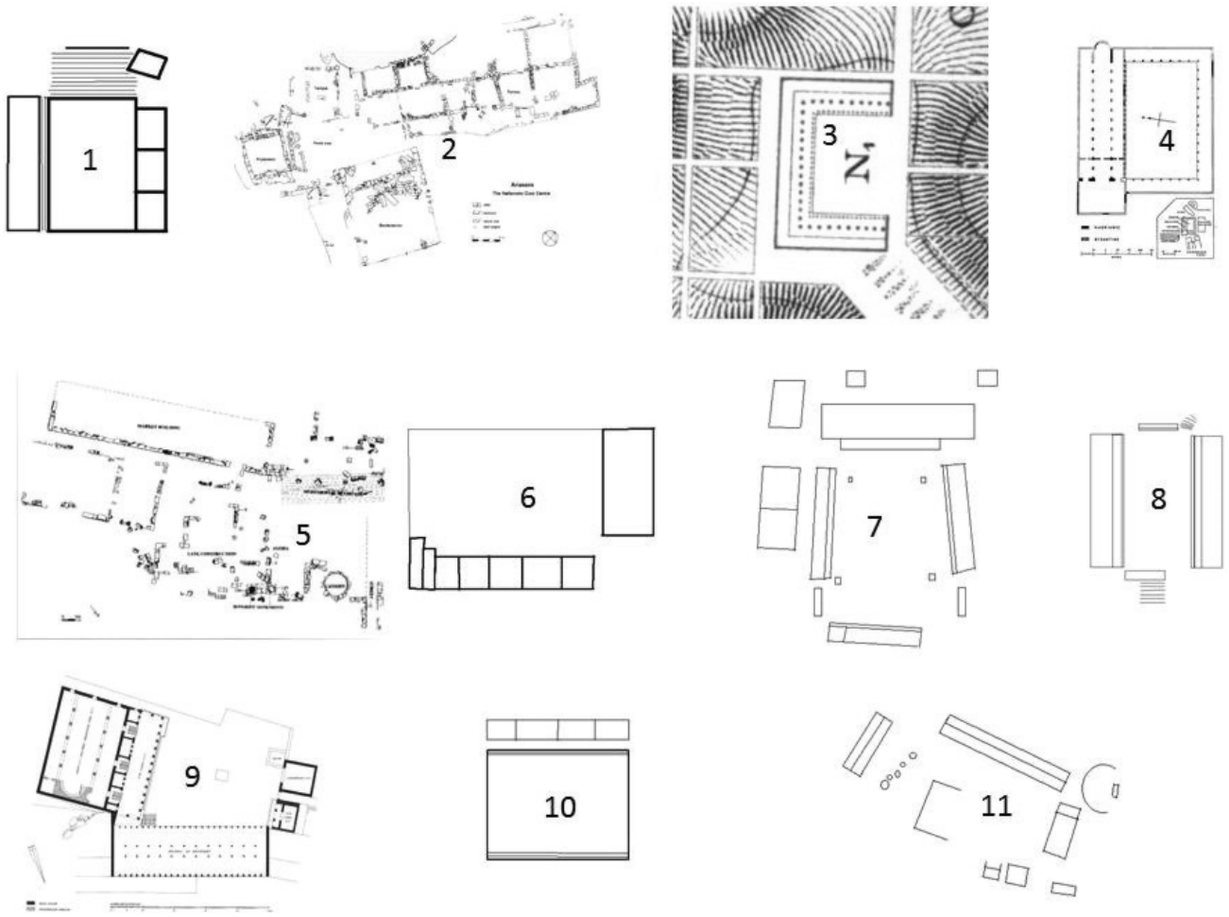

Figure 3: Comparative sketches of the general layout of the *agorai* in Pisidia: 1. Agora of Adada – 2. Agora of Ariassos – 3. The *pi*-shaped agora at Kremna – 4. The forum of Longus at Kremna – 5. The agora at Melli – 6. Agora of Pednelissos – 7. The Upper Agora at Sagalassos – 8. The Lower Agora at Sagalassos – 9. The Upper Agora at Selge – 10. The Lower Agora at Selge – 11. The agora at Termessos

architectural influences from the same region or beyond.[46] The small *stoa* on the agora, leading to the *bouleuterion*, was according to its ashlar masonry constructed in the Hellenistic period and modified and furnished with a new colonnade in early Imperial times.[47] In front of the portico stood a few honorific monuments mostly dated to Late Antiquity.[48] The temple west of the agora was originally dated by S. Mitchell to Roman Imperial times,[49] but he later considered it to be Hellenistic based on the presence of a podium with steps in front of it, which is reminiscent of Pergamene architecture. A similar late-1st century BC temple with a flight of stairs – the so-called Doric Temple had been excavated by then at Sagalassos.[50] Based on this evidence, the agora of Ariassos could only have developed from the middle Hellenistic period onwards and was already completely full of buildings before Roman Imperial times. Nevertheless, the orientation of the buildings on the square differ from one another to such an extent that there is no objective sense of 'unity' in the agora. Interestingly, there were no buildings on the south side of the agora, allowing for an open, undisturbed vista out onto the valley (Figure 4). Also noteworthy is that none of the buildings on the agora of Ariassos were lavishly decorated.

3. Kremna

Kremna is located in the heartland of Pisidia, an almost completely level promontory that can only be easily reached from its western side.[51] The naturally flat territory was ideal for constructing a square unhindered by geographical difficulties, a free and unrestricted site for the product of an architect's imagination (Figure 2.3). The street patterns of Kremna reveal a tendency towards a rectangular pattern, which was enabled by a lack of steep slopes. The city was one of the Augustan *coloniae* constructed on top of a Hellenistic settlement.[52] It featured two *agorai*: an older

[46] Bracke (1993, 22); Mitchell, Owens and Waelkens (1989, 66) suggest a date from the later 2nd century BC onwards for the bouleuterion. Although younger dates may be suggested as well – for instance during the late 1st century BC – this remains the most likely date (Rens, forthcoming).

[47] Nevertheless, it remains very difficult to date this building due to its number of building phases. Robinson (2002, 88).

[48] Mitchell, Owens and Waelkens (1989, 66) mentions a *bomos* of Emperor Gordian.

[49] Mitchell, Owens and Waelkens (1989: 61-66).

[50] Mitchell (1991b, 160).

[51] Levick (1967, 46).

[52] Mitchell (1995, 29). Kremna minted its own civic coinage from the 1st century BC onwards.

Figure 4: The view from the agora of Ariassos to the south and east valley (Rob Rens).

square in the east and the Forum of Longus further in the west. The older agora was bordered by a *pi*-shaped Doric *stoa* with two naves dated to the 1st century BC based on decorative elements.[53] (Figure 3.3). The *stoa* consisted of shops of the same size, creating a consistency in the square that was not achieved in the surrounding public buildings. The agora was open at the south side, but did not overlook the valley. The reason why the agora was open at this side is currently unknown; however, as no large public buildings have been identified on this side of the agora, we can exclude the possibility that the agora's monumental public buildings were meant to visually connect with the rest of the city. The date of the old agora is estimated as sometime in the 1st century BC based on the architectural decoration of its *stoa*.[54] The only larger constructions near the square are temples from the Hadrianic period to Severan times.[55]

The later agora of Kremna was the Forum of Longus, measuring 57m x 37m (Figure 3.4).[56] The forum, dated to the 2nd century AD on stylistic criteria and sufficient prosopographical knowledge on L. Fabricus Longus, is bordered by a double-aisled Doric and Ionic portico on three sides and a basilica on the east side.[57] The central square of the forum was three steps down from the portico. It is possible that these steps were used as seats when plays or sports matches took place on the forum square. All the decorations of the Forum of Longus were fashioned in Doric style. However, the triglyphs on the friezes were left roughly finished, giving the impression that the square was never actually completed. Nevertheless, the Doric order was very common in public monuments in Kremna until the Antonine period, and the choice for this order was arguably made to bring more stylistic unity to the city's public spaces. A propylon was situated to the north of the square with its Roman basilica.[58] This monument was, in fact, a later addition from the late-Antonine period in accordance with the more 'baroque' architectural decoration and the Corinthian capitals, which contrast sharply with the sombre Doric style common in Kremna.[59]

4. Melli

Melli was one of the smaller towns of southern Pisidia whose original name is unknown.[60] The city was situated on a very small promontory controlling the surrounding valleys (Figure 2.4 and 3.5).[61] The agora of Melli is located in the centre of the promontory and has been very well surveyed by the Pisidia Survey Project of L. Vandeput. Along the southern slope of Melli, a large market building

[53] Lanckoroński (1893, 175-178); Waelkens (2004, 455) based this date on the decoration of the gable of the *stoa.*
[54] Mitchell (1989, 229).
[55] Vandeput and Büyükkolanci (1999, 216).
[56] Mitchell (1987, 230); Waelkens (2002, 351).
[57] Lanckoroński (1893, 172; Mitchell (1995, 67).
[58] Lanckoroński (1893, 171) recognized a nymphaeum in this structure.
[59] Vandeput and Büyükkolanci (1999, 213-240) for a very detailed architectural description.
[60] Vandeput, Köse and Aydal (1999, 133).
[61] Mitchell (2003, 139).

of 36m x 9m was constructed at the south end of the agora.[62] The outer walls of the market hall which were constructed from large local limestone blocks laid in pseudo-isodomic headers and stretchers masonry without the use of mortar in between, suggesting a construction date in the 2nd century BC (Figure 5).[63] Later buildings on Melli's agora were clearly orientated towards this large building, which stood out prominently in the landscape and was one of the largest buildings in the city. Another noteworthy element on the agora is a Doric arch, measuring 6m x 1m. Near this arch, at its east side, all the honorific monuments, with their shafts and capitals being about 1.8m to 2m high, were arranged in a row on a podium,[64] thus blocking the passage to the agora for pedestrians and encouraging the use of the arch as a 'gate', which was very sober in style with its Doric elements. Although arches are considered to be a typical 'Roman' type of monument, this 'flat' arch is a typical example of Anatolian arches, of which it has been suggested that they merged the Hellenic tradition of *propylon* architecture with 'Roman' arches.[65] Behind this podium and the arch ran a street that gave access to the agora. At the western side of the arch a cistern was found, which was probably late Hellenistic or early Imperial in date.[66]

5. Pednelissos

Pednelissos is located at the southern border of Pisidia and maintained close connections with the more Hellenised region of Pamphylia.[67] Intensive surveys by the Pisidia Survey Project have resulted in a collection of surface ceramics which indicate that the city was thriving from the 2nd century BC onwards.[68] A general plan of the city reveals that Pednelissos had a number of planned elements, with parallel streets running north-south in right angles to East-West streets, which is unusual for Pisidians towns, except for Kremna (Figure 2.5). The agora was located centrally in the higher part of the city, laid out on an artificial terrace, supported by a wall in the southwest corner. This 20m by 30m square was also bordered by a wall along the north and south sides (Figure 3.6). The walls bordering the agora terrace are made of limestone headers and stretchers. On the agora itself, numerous honorific monuments were set up.[69] The southwest hill flank was reserved for an L-shaped market building, which contained no window openings on the southern side facing the hill, in contrast to a very open facade of its upper floor level towards the agora.[70] The lower level of the three-storeyed building contained eight rooms, which were accessible from a road reaching

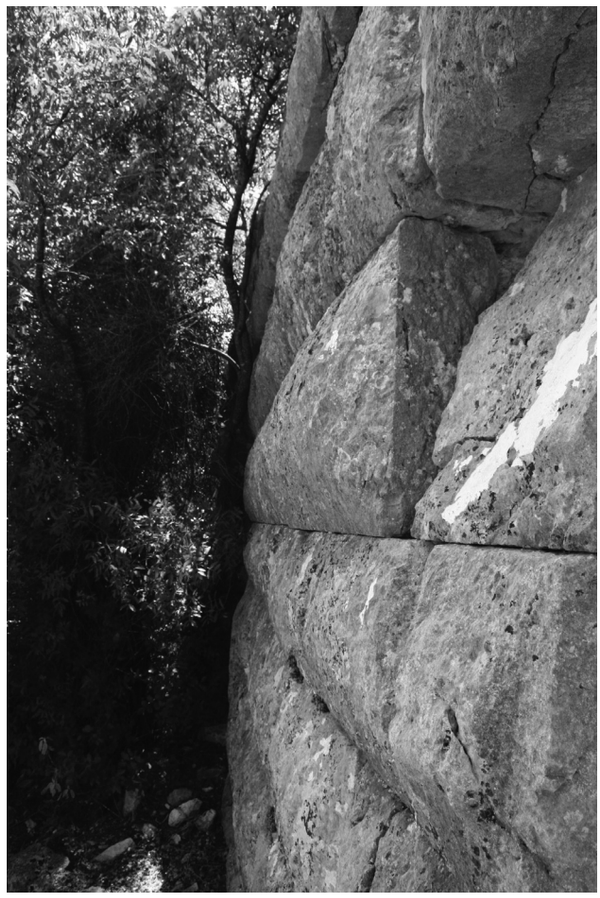

Figure 5: The Hellenistic south wall of the market building in Melli (Rob Rens).

this same level (Figure 6).[71] The building is dated to the 2nd century BC in accordance with the very similar market building found in Selge (see below), but with some clear restoration efforts from the 1st century AD.[72]

6. Sagalassos

The city of Sagalassos was the largest city in the heartland of Pisidia, situated on the south flank of the Akdağ Mountain. Two *agorai* have been excavated on the promontories of the hillsides, an Upper Agora and a Lower Agora (Figure 2.6). There are some geophysical indications that Sagalassos included several smaller squares as well. The Lower Agora was somewhat obstructed by the promontories of the Apollo Klarios temple to its west and the Roman Baths to its east. The trapezoidal Upper Agora (Figure 3.7 and 7) is the older of the two main squares;[73] its shape may have been influenced by the natural plateau on which it emerged.[74] Trapezoidal *agorai* are thought to have been inspired by the *agorai* of Pergamon.[75] However, the original contours of the

[62] Köse (2005, 148); the date is based on the presence of its pulvinated (rounded and protruding) walls according to Waelkens (2004, 455).
[63] Vandeput Köse and Aydal (1999, 139).
[64] Vandeput and Köse (2001, 133-134).
[65] On arches and gates in the Greek East, see Raja (2012, 214-215).
[66] This date is a personal suggestion, based on comparison with other arches in the region, which are all Early Imperial.
[67] Mitchell (1991a, 136).
[68] Vandeput and Köse (2005, 236).
[69] Vandeput and Köse (2003, 315-317).
[70] Köse (2005, 144).
[71] Cavalier (2012, 246-247).
[72] Moretti (1921, 100) has identified an inscription of Nerva above the door as a terminus post quem; Waelkens (2004, 455).
[73] Kosmetatou (1997, 27) links the trapezoidal form to the influence of Attalid *agorai* on other *agorai* such as in Assos and Sagalassos.
[74] The plateau of the Upper Agora had obtained this shape even before the Attalid period according to Waelkens (2004, 453).
[75] This idea was introduced by Martin (1974, 154-161).

Figure 6: The market building of Pednelissos on the steep south slope (Rob Rens).

Figure 7: Aerial view on the Upper Agora of Sagalassos from the east (Courtesy of Marc Waelkens and the Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

landscape may be equally, if not more, responsible for the final shape of the Upper Agora. Recent test-soundings have suggested that this area of Sagalassos was previously used to extract clay, which sheds a new light on the development of the local landscape.[76] During the Hellenistic period, there were various attempts to level the depressions of the clay extraction and to expand the plateau that served as the Upper Agora. The first stone building on this agora is a building at the north side, which used to be identified as a market building. This building has an unusual position as it does not face the down-slope of the hill, which would be a more typical orientation for such a market based on the configuration of these buildings in other sites in Pisidia, such as those of Melli, Selge, and Pednelissos.[77] The structure cannot be dated earlier than the late 3rd century BC according to M. Waelkens,[78] and the postern leading out of the city walls to the north is estimated to originate from the same period.[79] Since 2015, it can be ruled out that the building on the north side was a market building, due to the discovery of an L-shaped market building at the east side of the Upper Agora, which was constructed during the 2nd century BC and remained in use until the 1st century AD.[80] However, from the late Hellenistic period onward, the Upper Agora seems to have undergone constant changes up until the middle Byzantine period (867–1261 AD)[81]. The *bouleuterion* of Sagalassos was considered to be the second oldest building on this agora following the market hall dated to the 1st century BC based on the style of the capitals used for the monument.[82] However, new test soundings under the pavement of the *bouleuterion* indicate that at least the pavement, if not the whole building, should be dated to the reign of Augustus. The plan of the building shows similarities with *bouleuteria* along the west coast of Anatolia. This suggests that influences beyond the region were already present during the Late Hellenistic period.[83] As was common for such council halls of this period, this *bouleuterion* was not located directly on the square itself but on a higher platform west of the agora and had its own courtyard, a square that was used to construct the Basilica of St. Michael during the 5th century AD. An *agoranomion* was erected during the same period in the southwest corner of the agora,[84] while the east side of the square was flanked by a building with a Doric courtyard that is currently interpreted as a *gymnasium*, even though this is under much discussion and without much certainty.[85] This 'Doric courtyard' replaced the middle Hellenistic market building of Sagalassos. Somewhere during the 1st century AD, the market building of more than 50 m long was abandoned and the small valley east to it was filled with earth in order to extend the Doric courtyard that was constructed on top of it. During the same period, a cryptoporticus was found on the east side of the Upper Agora as well.[86] At the end of the 1st century BC, a temple was constructed near the northwest corner of the Upper Agora; it was not intended to be directly accessible from the square but only to be seen from afar, similar to two large 'Heroa' dominating the northwest and northeast corners of the agora.[87] During this period, another unidentified building was constructed in the northeast corner of the Upper Agora, as was a Tychaion on the south side of the square. This Tychaion was the only temple to be reached from the Upper Agora itself and was reused within an Imperial monument in the late 4th century AD[88]. According to honorific inscriptions for a wealthy family of benefactors, the Upper Agora received its pavement right after the Augustan period. This date seems to be confirmed in recent test-soundings on the square. The same test-soundings also suggest that there was no pavement on the square during Hellenistic times. In AD 43 and 46, two almost identical Claudian arches were added to the southwest and southeast entrances of the square[89]. A portico on the western and eastern sides was added already in the 1st century AD, but later a new portico with Doric columns was constructed as well. The last large addition to the Upper Agora was an Antonine Nymphaeum, which probably replaced an older water supply to the square and covered most of the unidentified north building's façade.

The Lower Agora of Sagalassos (Figure 3.8) can be considered a passage square, connecting the colonnaded north-south street and the large road to the upper city, flanked by the hills of the Roman Baths and the temple of Apollo Klarios (which, while not situated directly on this agora, was always visible).[90] It is possible that the wrestling games of the Klareia, the Imperial festival held at Sagalassos, were fought on this square, which is indicated by the many inscriptions for victors of these games found on the Lower Agora. This square was initially laid out at the end of the 1st century BC, and the first monuments on the Lower Agora is dated to the early Augustan period based on stylistic comparatives, which were later confirmed by test-soundings on the agora.[91] There is strong evidence that the agora was generally planed out during this period, when the city centre of Sagalassos expanded drastically.[92] The staircase in the south was bordered by a Tiberian Gate, which was connected to the two porticoes of

[76] Personal communication with J. Poblome.
[77] Köse (2005).
[78] Martens (2004, 597).
[79] This is currently still much debated, as the postern has neither been dated with any certainty nor completely excavated.
[80] Personal communication with J. Poblome and the excavator J. Claeys.
[81] However, in recent years a small 'farm house' has been identified on the southern edge of the Upper Agora. This simple building has been dated to the Ottoman period, most likely during the 19th century. Personal communication with the excavator I. Jacobs.
[82] See Bracke (1993, 26) for the dating of the *bouleuterion*.
[83] Test soundings to verify the date of the capitals have not yet been undertaken. A comparison with other *bouleuteria* in Asia Minor indicates that the shape of the *bouleuterion* is related to older *bouleuteria* along the Aegean coast. The comparison with the Bouleuterion of Notion is striking. See Rens (forthcoming).
[84] Mitchell and Waelkens (1988, 62).
[85] Vandeput (1997, 17).
[86] Personal communication with J. Poblome and the excavator J. Claeys.
[87] Waelkens (2002, 334). Both monuments were constructed during the Augustan period, according to stylistic criteria.
[88] Waelkens and Owens (1994, 177-179).
[89] The SW arch was originally dedicated to Caligula, but after a *damnatio memoriae* rededicated to the new emperor Claudius, as was the almost identical SE Arch. The arches were sponsored by the first family of Sagalassos which received Roman citizenship.
[90] Waelkens (2002, 335-336).
[91] Vandeput (1997, 41-42).
[92] Waelkens (2002, 333).

Figure 8: View on the Upper Agora of Selge from the temple area. The market building is situated to the right (Rob Rens).

the Lower Agora to its east and west sides, which on their turn were transformed into small shops from the 5th century AD onwards. The northern border of the square was embellished with a nymphaeum that stood from at least the reign of Trajan onwards, but was perhaps constructed even earlier. Later during the Severan period, this fountain was replaced by a new one constructed in front of the former.[93]

7. Selge

Selge, historically the largest competitor of Sagalassos and situated along the southern fringes of the Pisidian mountains, contained two large *agorai* (Figure 2.7). As in Sagalassos, there is a clear contrast in the layout and function of both squares. The Upper Agora had a trapezoidal shape, similar to squares of the Pergamene tradition (Figure 3.9).[94] Along its north side, it was bounded by the halls of the *chrematisteria*. The southeastern side of the *chrematisteria* was 41.6m in length. The halls contained a *stoa* plageia of 34.6m x 8m, the facade of which held 14 Ionic columns.[95] The current *stoa* dates to the Imperial period, as it was constructed together with the *odeion*/*bouleuterion* of the 2nd century AD standing behind it.[96] The surveyors of the Austrian Academy for Sciences, A. Machatschek and M. Schwarz, suggest that the *stoa* had a Hellenistic predecessor,[97] probably from the 2nd century BC.[98] However, with the exception of the remains of an older construction below the current *stoa*, they do not present hard evidence for this proposal. The northwest limit of the Upper Agora was demarcated by façade of the Tyche temple and the *agoranomion* of Selge, the latter probably a Roman construction with a Hellenistic predecessor.[99] A colonnaded street ran between these two buildings. A podium was placed just south of the *agoranomion*, which was moved southwards at a later, unknown period (the

[93] Waelkens (2002, 356). The date of the later Severan Nymphaeum is largely based on stylistic criteria of its architectural decoration. The date of the predecessor was established by findings from test soundings.
[94] Bracke (1993, 27).
[95] Machatschek and Schwarz (1981, 53-54).
[96] The interpretation of the building as a *bouleuterion* is based on the fact that political meetings were often held at *odeia* and that no other potential *bouleuterion* has been identified at Selge. Due to its transformation into a basilica during Late Antiquity, it is difficult to identify the original look of the building.
[97] Bracke (1993, 27).
[98] Machatschek and Schwarz (1981, 53-54).
[99] Machatschek and Schwarz (1981, 59) suggest there was a predecessor, but present no evidence on this. Their proposed dating for this unknown predecessor is therefore very risky.

Figure 9: The agora of Termessos with its large cisterns (Rob Rens).

development of *agorai* in Selge cannot yet be dated with any certainty).

The south side of Selge's Upper Agora was open, which afforded people on the square a view of the city extending down the steep slope and onto the surrounding countryside. A second podium of 3.79m x 3.10m in the centre of the Upper Agora was most probably used as a basis for a monument. This podium was finished with a cornice and typical Anatolian garland friezes which have been dated to the 2nd century AD based on their style.[100] The three-story market building in the Upper Agora measured 49.95m x 15.85m and was one of the largest buildings surrounding the Upper Agora (Figure 8). [101] Along its long side, the market sported a colonnade with 25 unfluted column shafts and Doric capitals. Along the north side, the builders opted for half columns instead of full columns. From this same side, the view opened to the *stadion* baths, the *stadion* itself, the city's theatre and Selge's Lower Agora. The market building has been dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC based on stylistic and technical grounds as well as a comparison with similar constructions throughout Asia Minor.[102]

The Lower Agora of Selge was situated on flat ground, more or less at the entrance to the city, just east of the *stadion*. This agora is a rather large square space measuring 170m x 140m.[103] At the north and south ends, four rows of steps form the original boundary of the agora (Figure 3.10). The eastern limit was marked by a border of stones, which has subsequently been broken up, making it difficult to trace the original boundary. A colonnade of 170.2m x 13.2m was constructed along the northern border of the Lower Agora, incorporating plain columns with Ionic capitals at the inner side of the monument while Doric plain columns adorned the outer sides. Based on stylistic elements, the construction of this agora is dated to the 2nd century AD,[104] meaning it was more of a forum in the 'Roman tradition' and closed to any major traffic. Nevertheless, the fact that it remained closed to traffic does not imply that the Lower Agora was not used for market activities; however, the agora is not fully excavated and evidence of market stalls on the pavement has yet to be determined.

8. Termessos

The agora of Termessos was located in the heart of the upper city, on the largest flat area available inside the city walls (Figure 2.8). During Roman Imperial times the agora itself did not have a vista of the valley. Instead, it was surrounded by a 'Heroon' and two temples, a *bouleuterion*,[105] and the city's famous theatre, all of which formed an architectural

[100] Machatschek and Schwarz (1981, 49).
[101] Köse (2005, 143).
[102] Cavalier (2012, 245-246).
[103] Today, this space is occupied by a farmstead and fields of the modern village of Zerk.
[104] Machatschek and Schwarz (1981, 60-62).
[105] Winter (2006, 147); Lanckoroński (1893, 102).

backdrop for activities on the agora (Figure 3.11). The space gave access to two streets at its north and its northwest corners. The centre of the agora was occupied by three small and two very large cisterns, most likely constructed in the early-Hellenistic period (Figure 9). The borders of the agora were dominated by three large *stoai*. The *stoa* of Attalos, a gift from Attalos II of Pergamon, stood in the northwest of the square. Dated to 159-138 BC,[106] it was the oldest *stoa* in the region. This two-aisled building measured 58m in length and was 17m deep. Both aisles were finished in the Doric order.[107] A dedicatory inscription also reveals the existence of an *agoranomion* near the *stoa* during this period.[108] The northern border of the agora proved the ideal site for the construction of the even larger *stoa* of Osbaras during the 1st century AD. The *stoa* of Osbaras was more than 9m wide, making it approximately 95m long, giving it dimensions resembling those of the *stoa* of Attalos.[109] The columns of the *stoa* were plain except for their highest part, which received fluting. Additionally, their Doric capitals resemble those of the *stoa* of Attalos. This very conservative form and style of *stoa* was probably employed due not only to a desire to create more uniformity on the agora.[110] At the same time, Osbaras' use of the earlier *stoa*'s architectural style for his own much larger building clearly demonstrated that he as a local benefactor had exceeded the previous architectural accomplishments of Attalos as patron of Termessos. The construction of these *stoai* were largely responsible for the gradual disappearance of the vista from the agora.

Trends in *Agorai* of Pisidia

Examination of these eleven *agorai* in Pisidia allows us to identify some general trends in their forms and function. From our topographical analysis, there is a strong argument to be made about the relationship between the landscape and the urban context of the *agorai*. From the Hellenistic period onwards, these Pisidian settlements were all situated on promontories, giving them a vantage point over the surrounding valleys and from which they could control their territory more efficiently. Examples of this advantageous positioning include the Upper Agora of Sagalassos, the Upper Agora of Selge and the *agorai* of Ariassos or Melli. The squares are mostly oblong or even trapezoidal, such as the upper *agorai* of Sagalassos and Selge. The latter is generally the result of the natural contours of the relevant promontories and not a predetermined taste for such forms. The shape of the *agorai* can be considered typical but not exclusive for Pisidia. The same trends appear in the neighbouring mountainous regions of Lycia and Isauria[111]. This picture stands in a sharp contrast with the regular shapes of *agorai* of cities located in wide plains, such as those on the Aegean coast or closer to Pisidia in Pamphylia.[112] Rectangular or square *agorai* shapes have also been attested in cities located on wider plateaus, such as Kibyra in the Tetrapolis or later in the agora of Pisidian Antioch. To conclude, rectangular or square shapes do not seem to stem from a particular point in time or the result of a direct 'Greek' or 'Roman' influence. Instead, the natural landscape seems to play an important role together with the level of urbanization, which is influenced on its turn by a community's population size. In general, the towns in mountainous areas of Anatolia are regarded to have counted only smaller populations, which may help us to understand why the pattern appearing in Pisidia is not that different from other mountainous regions in Asia Minor.

At some locations such as Melli, Pednelissos, Sagalassos and Selge, even the steep slopes along the edges of the *agorai* were incorporated into the design. These slopes were in fact ideal for constructing multi-level storage or market buildings at the aforementioned locations. The steep slopes would afford windows at each new level, while still allowing access to the buildings from the agora on their upper floor level. Thus, instead of closing off the agora, the slopes served as an upward and outward extension of the agora (Figure 10). Such large storage buildings were influenced by examples from cities such as Ephesos and Miletus on the west coast of Asia Minor and not a local innovation, nor a Greek introduction.[113] It has also been ruled out that these buildings were constructed on the instigation of the Attalid court at Pergamon, since they were also found at locations outside the Pergamene realm, such as Pednelissos and Selge.[114]

There are few examples of cities with Hippodamean grid planning which boast their *agorai* in the city centre. One of these is Kremna, which was a Roman colony, where street patterns indicate a more regular town planning and the *agorai* was situated in the centre of the city plateau, thus without the more characteristic vista over the surrounding valleys. As such, the smaller towns of Pisidia stand in sharp contrast with the planned cities of the Hellenistic period on the West coast of Anatolia, of which Priene and Miletus are the best-known examples.

However, it is the *agorai* sites with more expansive views, such as in Sagalassos, Selge or Melli, that are typical for Pisidia, although not exclusively, as it appears frequently in neighbouring mountainous regions such as northern Lycia and Isauria as well. From Hellenistic times on, these were situated on hilltops or outcrops on mountain slopes –

[106] Coulton (1976, 287).
[107] Seddon (1987, 41).
[108] Lanckoroński (1893, 40-42).
[109] Lanckoroński (1893, 42-44).
[110] Coulton (1976, 168).
[111] Examples can be found at Isaura Palaea, Oinoanda, Arykanda and several more cities that were constructed on steep mountain slopes.

[112] The *agorai* of Side and Perge in Pamphylia illustrate how flat terrains stimulate the geometric organization of *agorai*. Similar attestations can be found on Hellenistic *agorai* on the Aegean coast, such as at Miletus, Priene, but also further to the south at Halikarnassos and Iasos.
[113] Köse (2005, 154-155).
[114] Waelkens (2004, 466); Cavalier (2012, 255). Nevertheless, the dates that have been proposed for most of these market buildings roughly seem to correspond with the period of Attalid rule and influence (2nd century BC). However, more detailed dates are required to study the rise of market buildings in Pisidia. This would require a systematic excavation of these market buildings, of which none have been excavated entirely at the moment.

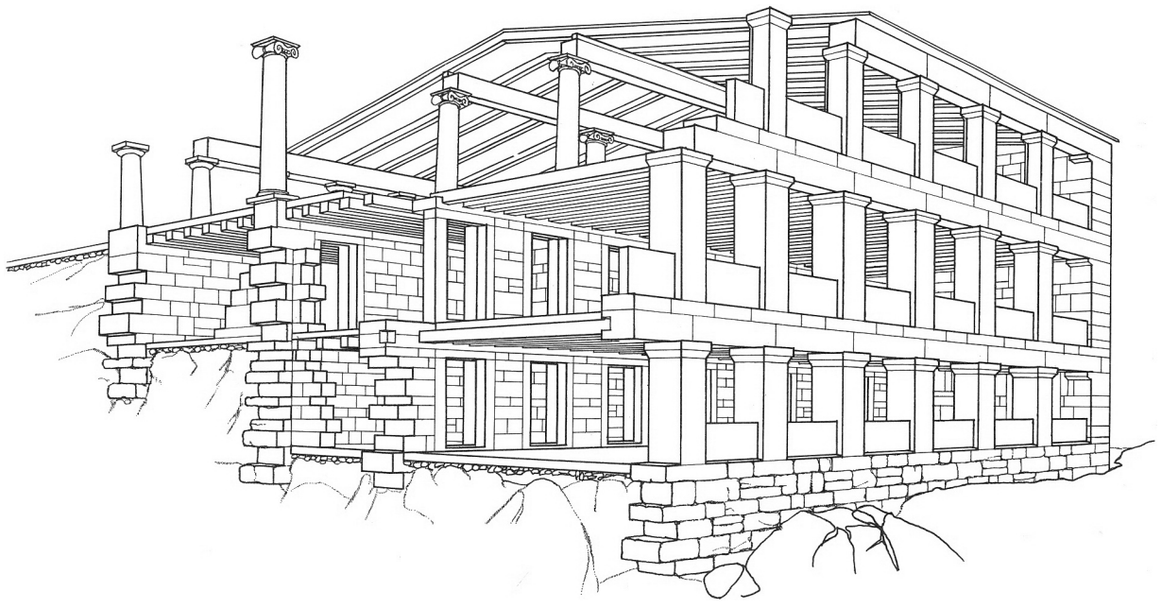

Figure 10: Reconstruction of the market building at Selge (Machatschek and Schwarz (1981, Pl. 8).

often on the highest available promontories in the cities. This placement most likely reflected the development of growing settlements which began from these highest points. This development resulted in *agorai* in Pisidia ended up in the higher sections of their cities, acting as a terminus to urban circulation patterns instead of forming a centralized focal point for the same. Similar evolutions took place in Pergamon, which was one of the largest developing cities in Anatolia during the 2nd century BC. However, at the moment it is considered unlikely that Pergamene city lay-out with its huge terraces had a huge impact on the development of the Pisidian cities during the Hellenistic period. The only Attalid influence which is clearly attested is the donation of a *stoa* by Attalos II at Termessos (see above). As mentioned above, it is much more likely that the Pisidian towns were influenced by the natural landscape and thus developed independently from Pergamon.

The overall function of Pisidia's *agorai* was often influenced by the buildings surrounding them. Three of the cities under discussion had at least two *agorai*: Kremna, Sagalassos, and Selge. For all of these cities there is a differentiation in the functionality of the respective squares. This evolution can be placed in a wider Anatolian context, as it has been attested on the Aegean coast (e.g., Ephesos) and the south coast (e.g., Side) as well. In Sagalassos and Selge, the Upper Agora was the city's oldest agora, where economic life for the community was formulated. In both cities, the oldest public monuments identified were market buildings.[115] With the presence of monumental public buildings on the *agorai*, urban centres began to distinguish themselves architecturally from the smaller hilltop sites in the vicinity. Over the course of time, the older *agorai* in Sagalassos and Selge evolved into centres for political meetings in the *bouleuteria* constructed during the reign of Augustus and 2nd century AD. Nothing is yet known of where the political committees gathered before the construction of these buildings. Other buildings such as the *agoranomion* and *prytaneion* carried an explicitly political purpose and were also situated in the older *agorai*. The *tychaioi* in both Sagalassos and Selge, for example, were also constructed on the squares that had become the political and religious cores of their respective cities.

The lower *agorai* at Sagalassos and Selge emerged during the reign of Augustus and ensuing expansion of the cities, especially in the case of Sagalassos. No political functions have been identified for these later *agorai*. For this reason, they have been interpreted as purely commercial *agorai*. At Sagalassos, this is evident in the many shops located behind the porticoes of the Lower Agora. At Selge, there is presently no strong evidence for arguing a singular economic purpose.

Temples have been identified near both lower *agorai*. At least at Selge, stairs bordering the Lower Agora have been interpreted as ideal for watching public wrestling games, a theme that also appears in the city's coinage.[116] Likewise, the Lower Agora at Sagalassos is full of epigraphic references to the wrestling games of the Klareia festival.[117] Similarly, the steps in the Forum of Longus in Kremna may have been associated with spectacles, although the presence of a basilica – the centre of juridical life – beside the Forum of Longus suggests that this more recent square served as a political meeting place.[118] This would contrast the situation in Sagalassos and Selge, where it was the older *agorai* that held political function. It is possible that the presence of the

[115] Köse (2005, 139).

[116] von Aulock (1977); von Aulock (1979). This is a long tradition that goes back to the Classical period, not only at Selge, but also at Etenna and in Pamphylia at Aspendos and Selge.

[117] Waelkens (2002, 345); Talloen and Waelkens (2004, 201-205); Talloen and Waelkens (2005, 248).

[118] Mitchell (1995, 63-65).

pi-shaped *stoa* with its row of shops to the rear created the rationale for assigning a central role in the economic life of the city to the older *agora* at Kremna.

Cities with only one *agora* were obliged to merge political, economic, religious, and social activities into one public arena. The small size of the sole *agorai* in cities such as Adada, Ariassos, Melli, and Pednelissos demonstrates that political meeting places (*bouleuteria*, open air meeting places, etc.) could be successfully combined with economic features (market buildings, *stoai*, shops, etc.) as well as less regulated social activities.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the functioning of these *agorai* changed over time, and a good chronological ordering of the surrounding buildings offers new perspectives on this evolution. Such a chronological overview depends largely on an accurate dating of the monuments on *agorai*. As stated previously, however, this has been very difficult to accomplish due to the small number of monuments that have been well excavated and studied in detail. To date, the oldest buildings in stone on the Pisidian squares appear to be market buildings, thus giving an extra economic pole of attraction to the *agorai*. As none of these buildings have been excavated, their tentative dates – from the transition from the third to the 2nd century BC and the third quarter of the 2nd century BC – is based on comparisons with other market buildings in Anatolia.[119] The emergence of market buildings is not a purely Pisidian phenomenon, but appears in other regions of Anatolia as well (e.g. Alinda in Caria or Aigai in Ionia) during the early Hellenistic period.

Stoai were introduced in Pisidia shortly after the 'construction spree' of market buildings. The first *stoa* in the region was the *stoa* of Attalos of 159 BC, mentioned earlier in this paper. As a gift from Attalos II of Pergamon,[120] it was not a properly regional creation but introduced from outside. During the late-Hellenistic period, additional Pisidian cities such as Ariassos, Kremna, and possibly Selge began to construct *stoai*, perhaps as a local reaction to the *stoa* of Attalos at Termessos. The presence of *stoai* has not been recorded at Sagalassos, where both *agorai* were bordered by porticoes during Roman Imperial times. Most of the *stoai* in Pisidia were rectangular, single-story buildings, a rather common form in Greece during the Classical period. The only example of a *pi*-shaped *stoai* bordering an *agora* is found at the Doric *agora* of Kremna. A second possible example may be found at Adada, but it is still uncertain whether the remains are those of a *gymnasium* or another *agora*.

The rectangular *stoai* of Pisidia stood in contrast to those along the west coast of Asia Minor, where *pi*-shaped *stoai* had become rather common during the late-Hellenistic period. Even those Pisidian *stoai* constructed or restored during the Roman Imperial period, such as the *stoa* of Osbaras in Termessos and the *stoa* of Ariassos respectively, were maintained as simple rectangular shapes, as was considered normal for Classical times, but rather outdated by the Hellenistic period. However, when studying other Hellenistic cities in Asia Minor in Lycia, Caria or further in the centre of Anatolia, one notices that the absence of well-arranged *stoai* bordering *agorai* are fairly uncommon. In fact, the model appearing in Pisidia and in several other parts of the 'urbanizing' Hellenistic cities in Anatolia seems to have been the standard, whereas cities on the Aegean coast, such as Priene, which had a longer and more intense history of contacts with the Greek world as well as an advanced history of urban development, should be considered as the real exceptions in the urban development of Anatolia.

I believe that the upholding of more 'traditional' (i.e. rectangular) types of *stoai* may have been influenced by a number of factors. The flat open spaces of the *agorai* was often too limited for the construction of larger *pi*-shaped or even square *stoai*. Secondly, smaller cities such as Ariassos, Melli, or Pednelissos may not have had sufficient financial resources to support the construction of large monuments. Thirdly, the choice for rectangular *stoai* may have been influenced by a stylistic affinity for traditionalism in many – but not all – Pisidian cities. This traditionalism is also visible in the preferential use of the Doric order for these *stoai*, together with other types of buildings (Figure 11). Nevertheless, the traditional style was sometimes 'modernized' in cities such as Sagalassos, which, as mentioned above, introduced porticoes on both of its *agorai*, thus giving the squares a more conventionally 'up-to-date Roman' feel, at the same time retaining the basic concept of a square overlooking the lower city and the valleys. Furthermore, these porticoes received Corinthian capitals, in contrast to the Doric decoration still in use at other cities in Pisidia throughout the 1st century AD.

Another element found on many squares is cisterns. While no cisterns have been securely dated, they are considered to have emerged during the Hellenistic period, since most of the large cities received water from aqueducts during Roman Imperial times. That being said, cisterns may have been employed in addition to aqueducts,[121] and some can be found on the squares of Termessos, Melli, and around the *agora* in Kremna. Furthermore, *nymphaea* have been identified in Sagalassos and Selge. Their presence indicates that publicly available water resources ensured that *agorai* remained centres of attraction for the people in these Pisidian cities into the Roman Imperial period. In the nearest regions, such a large amount of cisterns have not yet been attested at many places.

Religious architecture did not play a significant role in Pisidian *agorai*. Though often situated in the vicinity,

[119] Cavalier (2012) mentions the market building ('Marktbau') at Aspendos as the best documented market building in the region.
[120] Kosmetatou (1997, 28).
[121] Aqueducts in Pisidia have been identified at Sagalassos (6 examples), Selge (2 examples), Kremna (2 examples) Termessos (1 example) and Ariassos (1 example). Only one at Sagalassos dates to the 1st century BC. All other aqueducts date to Roman Imperial times, see Martens (2004, 480-481).

Figure 11: A Doric capital and frieze block at the pi-shaped agora of Kremna (Rob Rens).

temples never received a central place on the *agorai,* with the exception of the small Tyche temples identified in Sagalassos and Selge on their Upper Agorai. Tyche is meant to embody the soul and good fortune of the city. As such, these Tyche temples come close to personifying what we would call the 'identity' of the city, and the construction of *tycheia* can be regarded as a sort of civic propaganda through which the city honoured itself. A similar *tycheion* presence was identified on the *agora* of Perge in Pamphylia. Other religious buildings are scarce on Pisidian *agorai*. While the *agora* of Ariassos contained an unidentified temple from late-Hellenistic or early-Imperial times, no other *agora* has a temple structure located directly on it. At Termessos and Selge, temples can be found in the immediate vicinity of the *agorai*.[122] In Sagalassos, this is true of both the Lower Agora (Temple of Apollo Klarios) and the Upper Agora (Doric Temple). Nevertheless, none of these temples seems to have been built before the late-Hellenistic period. In Kremna, all temples near the *agorai* were constructed during the second or third centuries AD only. Some *agorai* did not even have temples in their immediate vicinity, for example in Adada, Melli, or Pednelissos. Although the dating of such buildings is again problematic, it is clear that religious architecture is a late addition to the *agorai* in Pisidia. This may be explained by the nature of religious life from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. During the Archaic period, all known sanctuaries in Pisidia were located outside of settlements. This seems to have remained the case during Classical as well as Hellenistic times as well. These sanctuaries were often located on hilltops or appeared as rock-cut sanctuaries with niches for veneration, mostly far away from urban life.[123] As a consequence, the *agorai* in Pisidia were traditionally not associated with the most important aspects of religious life. This status only changed slowly yet steadily during Roman Imperial times, when the Imperial cult emerged and religious festivals (*agones*) began to occur purposefully in urban centres.[124] In the neighbouring region of Lycia genuine temples seem to be rather exceptional as well, such as at Rhodiapolis. However, in Lycia there is already a longer tradition of hero cults on *agorai*, such as the hero cult of Sarpedon at Xanthos from the Classical period onwards.

Some *agorai* changed drastically during the Roman Imperial period, while others retained much of their appearance from Hellenistic times. U. Kenzler concluded that – contrary to what was formerly believed – most *agorai* in the East did not lose their 'Hellenistic appearance' from the reign of Augustus onwards.[125] Instead, as he explains, small modifications of and additions on the *agorai* became more common, such as the proliferation of monuments dedicated to the Imperial family and members of the local elite, even on those *agorai* that maintained their overall Hellenistic 'open' appearance. In Pisidia, the *agorai* of

[122] An overview of these temples can be found in Waelkens (2004, 461-463). The dates of these temples are still rather speculative.

[123] Talloen (2003) offers a good overview of open air religious sites in Pisidia.

[124] Wörrle (1988).

[125] Kenzler (2013, 129-131).

all cities except Sagalassos saw no dramatic shift in their appearance during Augustan times. The additions of porticoes along the Upper and Lower Agorai of Sagalassos served to separate the squares from their surrounding buildings. Only the Forum of Longus in Kremna, which had no Hellenistic predecessor but was newly constructed during the 2nd century AD, exhibits the same degree of separation from the rest of the city as the *agorai* of Sagalassos that had adapted so well to the new trends in Imperial culture. Ultimately, all other *agorai* in Pisidia concur with the general process of stylistic evolution as described by Kenzler.

In addition to the difficulty in dating these monuments, there is also the question of sponsorship. The *stoa* of Attalos is the only monument that can be dated to a specific year based on its inscription and is the only monument from the Hellenistic period in Pisidia of which the benefactor is known. All other monuments of this period did not contain any inscription referring to a benefactor. Monuments of the Roman Imperial period, especially those from somewhat larger cities, often mention a sponsor. For Sagalassos, the Upper Agora even became 'the showcase of the elite', as the members of the local elite – the more cultivated inhabitants, often with political powers or influential positions in their city – sought to outdo one another as an *euergetes* (benefactor) for their city. J. Nollé found out that the restoration of the Odeion in Selge was sponsored by Publia Plancia Aurelia Magniana Motoxaris, a woman from the local elite.[126] In Termessos, a member of the local elite named Osbaras attempted to compete with the historical reputation of Attalos II through the construction of his own *stoa*. In Kremna, the Forum of Longus was largely sponsored by a single, local, wealthy man according to an inscription.[127] The benefactors of public monuments in the smaller cities in Pisidia are not known to the same extent due to the fact that few have been architecturally surveyed or excavated. Additionally, many of these buildings were constructed with public money derived from taxes and other revenue rather than through private patronage. Contrary to buildings sponsored by named private benefactors, public construction often does not mention any specific benefactors in building inscriptions. Nonetheless, it is actually impossible to determine with any certainty whether the buildings without inscriptions were funded by private benefactors or through public resources. Although the practice of euergetism is too complex to be treated in detail here, it is worth mentioning that euergetism became a more regular practice from the late-Hellenistic period onwards, reaching its heyday during Imperial times, as attested by the *agorai* discussed above. Most of the Hellenistic public monuments are lacking any epigraphical or iconographical reference to a private sponsor. The public monuments from early Hellenistic times are therefore often considered to have been funded with public money, and the decision to construct them was likely made by local political institutions, such as the *boulè*, rather than by private initiative.[128]

It would be useful to identify/determine whether the buildings in question were constructed based on the demands of a benefactor or of public institutions in order to understand the larger intention of the building outside its primary function. The buildings paid for by *euergetai* may have been motivated by humanitarian reasons, a need for certain elite members to promote themselves as successful politicians, or simply the striving to surpass other local families in importance. Such personal ambitions by necessity played a much smaller role with monuments constructed using public funding. Ultimately, both privately and publically sponsored buildings were intended to increase the quality of life for the city's inhabitants as well as beautify the city. However, the shapes, sizes, and stylistic treatments of these monuments were mostly in the hands of local elites, meaning that community self-representation and attempts at self-aggrandizement vis-à-vis their neighbours (in the region and perhaps even beyond) was achieved within a somewhat narrow field of vision. With buildings sponsored by benefactors, a single benefactor had great personal influence on the structures' appearance. When a monument was constructed with public funding, the *boulè*— together with the responsible architect – decided on how the monument should look.[129] The *boulè*, however, consisted for the most part of members of the same local elite from which the *euergetai* were drawn.[130] While publically funded monuments probably did not reflect the taste of a single individual, it can be argued that they mirrored a more 'overall taste' of the local elite, which had a decisive impact on the final result. The sentiments of the lower classes in this decision-making process can only be a subject of speculation: within the *boulè*, these classes were a minority. Their voice would more likely have been heard in the *gerousia* or as part of the *demos*, where they were empowered to make official protests and deliver their own opinions. All things considered, while the local elite had a very important say in the construction of a particular monument, they were certainly not the only factor of importance (though the architect and the chief sponsor still held primary decision-making power). Further, the contributions of each social group to construction decisions may have varied from city to city and depended on the historical period in question. The resulting in a set of underlying criteria that are rather complex, meaning that in the absence of a clear written record or an in situ inscription we can only guess about the debate that preceded the actual

[126] Nollé and Schindler (1991, 93).
[127] Mitchell (1995, n° 45).
[128] On the construction of buildings paid from by the civic treasury see Zuiderhoek (2013).
[129] The personal influence of sponsors on their architects is a much debated subject. Taylor (2003, 9-14) deals with this debate. The influence of the sponsor may have differed from monument to monument and it is difficult to distinguish the elements which are a typical 'signature' of the sponsor or the architect, especially when only one or two buildings constructed by the same architect or sponsored by the same *euergetes* are known.
[130] Zuiderhoek (2011, 191) mentions that in addition to the local elite, bakers, purple-dyers and ship-owners are also attested as *bouleutai*, i.e. members of the *boulè*.

construction of a monument.[131] At the same time, most of the monuments discussed in this article were not given to or 'imposed' upon the communities in Pisidia, but paid for by local people and institutions as described above. The same dynamics can be witnessed in other Anatolian cities as well. In other words, the emergence of additional 'Greek' or 'Roman' buildings in the urban centres of Pisidia was due mostly to local initiatives. The outcome of these debates before construction works started help us to understand why uniformity is often lacking on *agorai*, not only in Pisidia, but in Anatolia as a whole.

Conclusions

Agorai form a good case study for community identity in a region. These squares are the material expression of how communities wanted to present themselves, not only to their fellow citizens but also to foreigners. The *agorai* of Pisidia suggest that cities chose to represent themselves as early as from the middle Hellenistic period on as urban centres. Both Anatolian elements (market buildings[132]) and architectural features from the Hellenic world (such as *stoai* and *bouleuteria*) were combined to achieve the architectural status of an urban centre. However, the combination of these elements resulted in a new 'urban Hellenistic Anatolian culture'. Later Roman influences ('closed' squares, porticoes) emerged at some locations such as Sagalassos and Kremna. In most *agorai* in Pisidia, the traditional appearance was retained and modified as new needs presented themselves, such as representation of the local elite, or political, economic or religious aspirations/ambitions.[133] As such, the *agorai* did not transform into 'Classically Roman' *fora* but were adapted into Anatolian variations on ongoing urban changes during Imperial times in the Roman world. The types of monuments found in the *agorai* in Pisidia, together with their decoration, are indicators of whether or not a city aimed to portray itself as 'progressive' or more traditional. The contrast between cities such as Sagalassos (progressive), Termessos and Selge (rather traditional) indicates that traditionalism was not motivated by the size of the cities alone. Smaller towns, such as Melli with its triumphal arch, could have been stylistically advanced as well. Again, so-called 'progressive' architecture was generally the result of decisions made by the local elite – the political organs of their cities – together with the architects and the contractors that were brought in to execute the building program. Their decisions influenced the composition of these Pisidian cities and provide us with clues about the intentions of the initiators and the reception of the monuments by all inhabitants: would the building be something 'shocking' and new? Would it exceed the achievements of a neighbouring city? Would the other citizens' minds be open to accept novel forms and styles? One thing is clear: despite many differences amongst the Pisidian cities, the number of market buildings, *stoai*, *bouleuteria*, etc. built in the same period and inspired by other buildings of the same type in and beyond the region indicates that there was a strong flow of ideas amongst the cities themselves. This even may have kindled an architectural 'competition' amongst the Pisidians from the Hellenistic period onwards, ending in the *'imitatio et aemulatio'* policy confirmed by the archaeological evidence from the early Roman period onwards.

This study on Pisidian *agorai* also imposes methodological issues. A first observation lays within the fact that there is no such thing as a 'Pisidian' *agora*, which is clearly differentiated from urban squares in neighbouring regions. Instead, in this study we encountered some general trends for *agorai* in the mountainous regions of Anatolia that were partly inspired by similar landscapes, but also by similar cultural and urban development traditions. Not only is the 'toolbox' of 'Pisidian' *agora* and public monuments unable to be applied to the archaeological reality, but also more or less the same can be told for the terms 'Greek' and 'Roman', which are not apt for the complex local realities. First of all, no Greek or Roman models for *agorai* were directly imposed on Pisidian cities. Secondly, apart from the contexts of a Hippodamean town planning, a planned city on terraces or a gradually growing city from a nucleus, there is little to be said about categorizing *agorai*. Most of the public buildings surrounding them and monuments on the *agorai* were gradually added according to local needs and tastes, probably being aware of the general changing trends in the wider Mediterranean context and certainly aware of what was going in in neighbouring cities around Pisidia. Thus, it seems more adequate to study local phenomena against a wider Mediterranean or regional background than restricting the debate to a narrow-minded methodology of a few categories that cannot reflect the archaeological reality.

Ultimately, this fascinating record of reception and reaction to both Hellenistic and Roman Imperial influences shows how wrong past scholars were to equate the historically warlike character of the Pisidians – as described contemporaneously by Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, et al. – with a barbaric disposition. The archaeological evidence in Pisidia demonstrates that tribal communities had transformed themselves into truly urban settlements during the Hellenistic period, becoming not only *poleis* inspired by Greek examples, but also attractive civic centres with monumental architecture. These monuments, especially the markets, clearly reveal that the Pisidians were much more than warriors: they were capable of sophisticated commercial and agricultural enterprise dependent on organized communities that could gather the necessary funds to construct large storage and other buildings. Even more, these structures suggest that long-range trade was important to Pisidia from the Hellenistic period onwards. Further, most monuments from the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period were constructed on local initiative and not in accordance with a foreign or imperial edict. One could assume a certain degree of 'self-Hellenization' and

[131] Zuiderhoek (2013, 190).
[132] Cf. FN 107
[133] *Agorai* fit perfectly in the terminology of memorial environment, as Ma (2009, 251) suggests. See also Ma, this volume.

'self-Romanization' in relation to the emergence of the new building types in the region. Pisidia has proven to be a region with great potential for studying cultural contacts. Perhaps future archaeological surveys and excavations will not only allow us to understand the layout of further *agorai* in Pisidia and obtain a more detailed chronological frame, but also to gain more insight into how both communities and individual sponsors shaped the appearance of their cities and from where they obtained their inspirations.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Marc Waelkens. Without his guidance, this research would have been impossible to conduct. Secondly, I wish to thank Dr. Julian Richard for his useful comments and tremendous help in the field. I am also indebted to Dr. Eva Kaptijn for her comments and valuable insights. This research was supported by the Belgian Programme on Interuniversity Poles of Attraction (IAP 6/22) and the Research Fund of the K.U.Leuven (BOF-GOA 07/02), next to project G.0421.06 of the Fund for Scientific Research, Flanders (FWO).

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From Performance to Quarry: The evidence of architectural change in the theatre precinct of Nea Paphos in Cyprus over seven centuries

Craig Barker

Introduction

The architecture of theatres and of theatre precincts, particularly in the Eastern Mediterranean, is a valuable source for examining the changing use of public spaces over prolonged periods of time. Common in the Eastern Mediterranean from the late 4th century BC onwards, theatres are indicative of profound changes in the region over a long period of time. They reflect the ready adoption of a Greek cultural ideal across much of the region in the aftermath of Alexander the Great's conquests. Theatres are typically indicative of the concept of the Hellenistic *koine* – quickly becoming a key feature of the poleis of the east, and remain so through the periods of the Hellenistic kingdoms, and on into Roman rule. Furthermore, theatres are significant and sizable public structures, a prominent feature in the urban landscape of any polis. In addition, changes to the space of a theatre precinct once it is no longer used for performance and spectacle in Late Antiquity may allow for perceptive insight into the nature of continuity and destruction in the east over a prolonged period of time.

The University of Sydney has been conducting archaeological excavations at the site of the theatre of Nea Paphos and its surroundings under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus since 1995.[1] Over the sixteen years of excavations, the site has provided considerable insight into the changing nature of the use of the north-eastern quarter of the ancient city.

The evidence from the theatre of Nea Paphos in Cyprus, though fragmentary, helps illuminate the changing nature of the use of the public spaces in the north eastern quarter of the Hellenistic and Roman capital of Cyprus over several centuries. Excavators have been able to chart not only the changing nature of theatrical performance and tastes in popular entertainment over time, but to also demonstrate how after the structure's abandonment in the late 4th century AD the site becomes a valuable quarry for stone to be used in the construction of a nearby basilica and other building sites. The public and communal space of the theatre becomes a private space, probably a privately owned quarrying site, or at least an environment that is no longer to be used by the community as a whole. This paper aims to summarise some of the noticeable changes identified in the archaeological record of the Paphos theatre, from its Hellenistic foundation to its reinvention as a private space in Late Antiquity and to comment upon how they reflect broader changes occurring in Nea Paphos.

Nea Paphos

Nea Paphos is located on the south-western coast of Cyprus, and was the capital city of the island for most of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Its significance is testified by the city's inscription on UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage List in 1980.[2] The city is traditionally thought to have been established in the late 4th century BC by Nikokles IV, the last ruler of the independent kingdom of Paphos, who, according to the local foundation myth, moved the political and administrative capital of his kingdom from the earlier settlement of Palaipaphos with its important sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite.[3]

Significant amounts of Classical period imported Greek pottery and locally produced wares have been found at the theatre site as well as elsewhere within the walls of the Hellenistic city,[4] supporting the theory that the town was not a new settlement but rather the enlarging of a pre-foundation village by Nikokles. The relationship between Nikokles and Ptolemy is confused in surviving literary accounts, such as Diodorus (20.21), as indeed is the nature of the Ptolemaic take-over of the island.[5] Tonnes Bekker-Nielsen has instead credibly offered 294 BC as the foundation date of the settlement, and Ptolemy I Soter as the founder, not Nikokles; the city established as residence for his *strategos*, and a port for timber exports to Alexandria and shipbuilding.[6]

Either way, it does seem clear that the naturally advantageous harbour of Nea Paphos (something lacking at Palaipaphos) was the driving force behind the city's creation, and that the theatre was to be one of the earliest public buildings constructed. Prevailing wind patterns and sea currents favoured shipping routes that used the west coast of Cyprus for safe anchorage between the Aegean

[1] The Australian Archaeological Mission wishes to acknowledge the ongoing and continued support of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus and successive Directors, including the current Director, Dr Maria Hadjicosti. The excavations were funded by an Australian Research Council (ARC) grant between 1995 and 2001, and have received financial and logistical support from the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens (AAIA) since 2009 and the Nicholson Museum, The University of Sydney since 2011. The project was inaugurated by Professor J. Richard Green in 1995. The project's website is: www.paphostheatre.com.

[2] See: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/79.

[3] Bekker-Neilsen 2000, 195-207.

[4] Mlynarczyk 1985a, 69-78.

[5] Mlynarczk (1990, 67ff) summarized various theories about the precise date of the Ptolemaic seizure. of Nea Paphos. See also Daszewski 1987, 171-175.

[6] Bekker-Nielsen 2000, 202-203.

Figure 1: Location of Nea Paphos in Cyprus.

and Alexandria. Paphos harbour (today only a fraction of the size of the ancient harbour) is a rich maritime archaeological resource,[7] and its relative close proximity to Alexandria would have provided refuge for tonnage of shipping in antiquity. Maritime trade also drove the rapid expansion of Nea Paphos in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC; its close political, economic and administrative links with Alexandria were to leave a profound mark on the development of the city. Indeed, John Lund has described Nea Paphos as the "lynchpin" in all Hellenistic maritime trade between the Aegean and Alexandria.[8] The high number of imported Hellenistic ceramics excavated in Nea Paphos is indicative of the prominent role played by the town's harbour in this trade network. Imports of Aegean amphorae for example are numerous[9] – indeed, due to an unusual Paphian burial custom of interring two amphorae in the graves of the deceased in the northern and eastern necropoleis of the settlement, there are more intact Rhodian amphorae found in Nea Paphos than anywhere else outside of Rhodes itself.[10] The northern necropolis, the so-called "Tombs of the Kings", is an excellent example of the close relationship that the colony city had with Alexandria. A series of peristyle tombs at the site are architecturally unique on the island,[11] but closely parallel Alexandrian burials at the Tombs of Mustafa Pasha, with bedrock-cut graves imitating houses. Interestingly, the grave goods buried at the site demonstrate local Paphian burial customs, while the tombs themselves clearly indicate Alexandrian architectural practices.[12] Further evidence of the wealth generated by the harbour's significant position along eastern Mediterranean trade routes is presented by the incredibly well preserved series of late Hellenistic to late Roman mosaics from various domestic structures in the *Maloutena* district of south-western Nea Paphos, such as the House of Dionysos and the House of Ion.[13]

As already mentioned, the theatre was another symbol of the city's close links with the outside world. The adoption of theatrical performance across the eastern Mediterranean occurred rapidly in the wake of Alexander's conquests and theatrical performance, and its reception becomes a very significant indicator of a broader Hellenistic cultural *koine* and the spread of Greek cultural identity. Interestingly, Plutarch records Alexander's organization of a dramatic festival for his troops following the capture of Tyre in 331 BC.[14] This was a clear demonstration to Alexander's troops of their common heritage – theatre was a means of self-identification, a common bond of unity. Significantly, the festival was financed by the kings of Cyprus (including, presumably, Nikokles), and given the production of theatrical terracotta figurines on the island throughout the 4th century AD, Cyprus was perhaps initially more receptive to theatre than anywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean.[15]

[7] Hohlfelder and Leonard 1993, 45-62.
[8] Lund 1991, 20.
[9] Nicolaou 2005.
[10] Michaelides 1990, 187-194; Barker 2004, 73-84.
[11] Hadjisavvas 2011. Also Hadjisavvas 1985a, 262-268 and Hadjisavvas 1985b, 343-347.
[12] Barker and Merryweather 2002, 109-116.
[13] Michaelides 1992, especially 18-41 and 54-63. See also Kondoleon 1994.
[14] *Vit. Alex*. xxix.
[15] Green 2007a, 5-6.

Figure 2: Plan of ancient Nea Paphos overlaying the modern city (after Green 2007b, 5).

If Nea Paphos did build its theatre in the years around 300 BC as we suspect, then it demonstrates a city willing to identify itself very quickly as part of the new Hellenistic identity. The theatre played a strong role throughout the city's history – not only was Nea Paphos home to a theatre, but it also possessed a 2nd century AD *odeion* and a yet-to-be excavated amphitheatre.

The Theatre of Nea Paphos

The theatre was located in the north-eastern quarter of Nea Paphos, close to the (as-yet-not-located) north-eastern city gate, and inside the ancient city walls that ran around the area

Figure 3: The theatre of Nea Paphos after excavations in 2010 (Craig Barker).

of a small hill known since the Middle Ages as Fabrika.[16] Although the Australian Mission is still working towards final publication of the site, a number of preliminary observations can be made about the theatre precinct, particularly in relation to the chronological development of the theatre structure and changes to the site over time. It is however worth noting that the earliest Hellenistic phases of the theatre of Paphos, like most other Mediterranean theatres, are difficult to discern as the architectural remains have been largely obliterated by later Roman construction on the site. To further complicate matters, the theatre underwent severe stone robbing and quarrying following its destruction, removing much of the architectural evidence of the phases of the structure, particularly of the stage building. Thus, despite some attempts,[17] much of the reconstruction of the building's phases is conjectural and hypothetical and any meaningful reconstruction of the *scaenae frons* remains a difficult task.

The excavations have revealed that the theatre appears to have been constructed very shortly after the foundation of the city around 300 BC. It was destroyed and abandoned in the late 4th century AD, probably as a result of the famous cataclysmic earthquake of AD 365 or another in the following decades.[18] There is evidence for at least five phases of the structure of the theatre including a 2nd century BC make-over, a mid 2nd century AD enlargement, and a 3rd century AD modification. Over the six and a half centuries of usage, the theatre's architecture can be seen to reflect not only changes in contemporary theatrical architecture, but also changes in the way the space was used as a direct result of changes in contemporary cultural tastes, from Hellenistic theatrical performance, to later Roman spectaculars. The theatre measures nearly 90 metres in diameter, and at its maximum size (in the 2nd century AD) it can be estimated to have had seating capacity for up to 8500 spectators. The theatre was carved out of the southern slope of Fabrika Hill. The name 'Fabrika' is probably referencing some degree of industrial production that took place in the areas since the Middle Ages; the 12th and 13th century AD levels at the theatre site are rich in evidence of ceramic, glass and metal production as well as agricultural activity over top of the former theatre.[19]

The theatre faces in a southerly direction, but not due south. Rather, the central axis faces towards the harbour; that is, in a south south-westerly direction. It is interesting to note that the main Roman road being excavated due south of the theatre runs on a direct east-west direction, which means that the theatre is slightly off alignment in relation to the rest of the ancient city. This had an important impact upon the theatre during the middle of the 2nd century AD when it was enlargened considerably – the theatre was restricted in

[16] Green, Barker and Gabrieli, 2004.
[17] Georgiou and Hermon 2011, 1-4.
[18] On the earthquake in AD 365, see Soren and Low 1981, 178-183; Soren and James 1988; Stiros 2001, 545-562; Davis 2010, 5-16. See also Stiros and Papageorgiou 2001; On the later earthquake see Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina 1994. For discussion on fourth century AD earthquakes, including dicussion on the possibility of three separate events, see Stiros 2010.
[19] Gabrieli, McCall and Green 2001, 335-356; Cook and Green 2002, 413-426; Gabrieli 2004, 287-298; Cook 2004, 275-285.

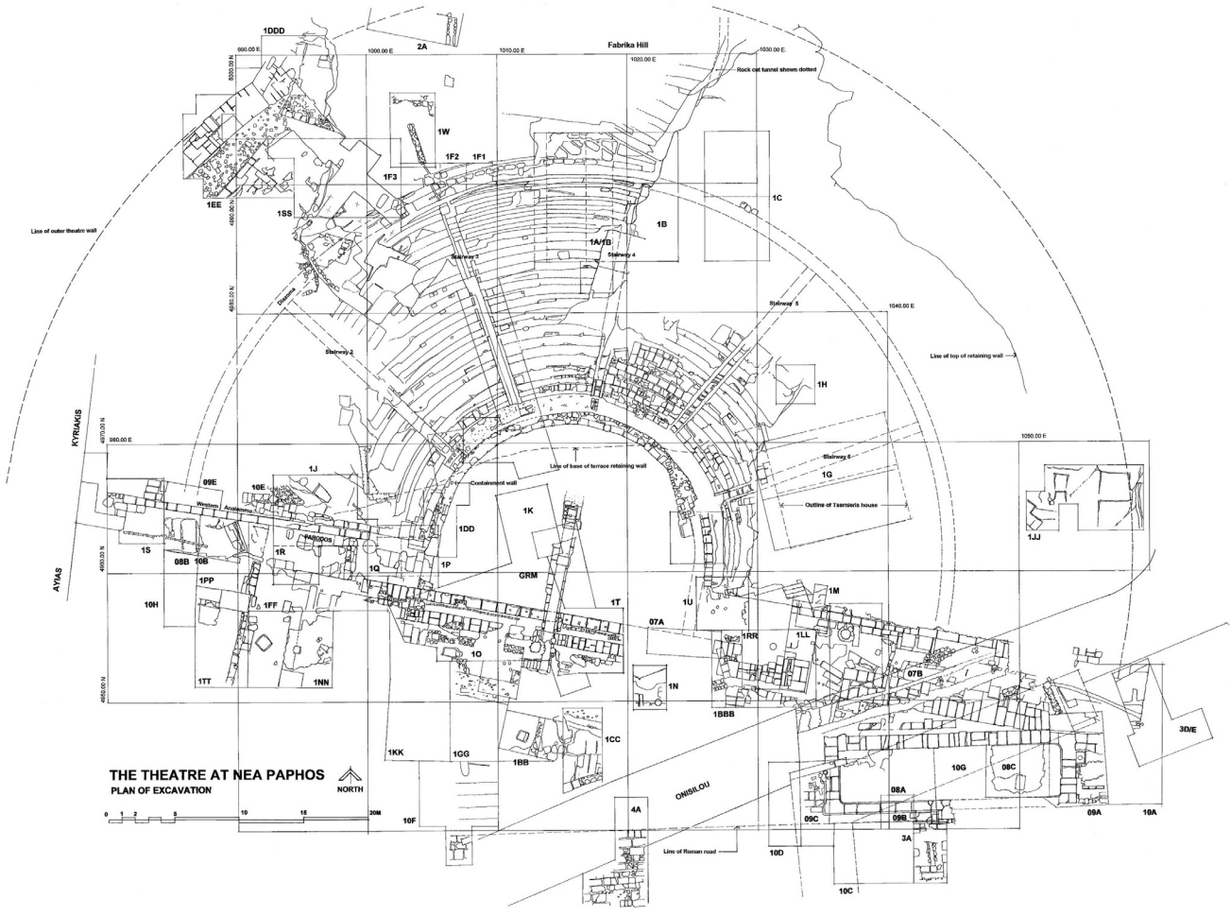

Figure 4: The Plan of the excavations of the Nea Paphos Theatre following the 2010 Season (Courtesy of Geoff Stennett).

its size by other buildings. Whether this alignment reflects an earlier urban design which changed over time or the architects' desire to face the theatre directly towards the harbour is not known. The other thing to note – and this too may have impacted upon the directionality of the theatre – is that although the central and lower areas of the theatre were carved into the sloping bedrock of Fabrika Hill, the eastern and western edges were not high enough to enable carving of seating from the natural bedrock higher than the first seven or so rows of seats. As the theatre developed, the architects got around this problem by building up artificial embankments on either side to create the bell of the *cavea* (seating area). Although the southern slope of Fabrika was probably not ideally suited for a traditional theatre, it was the only slope available within the city walls of an appropriate size for the theatre that was to be built there.

The *cavea* of the theatre is semi-circular in shape, unlike the more popular horseshoe shape, which is popularly contemporaneous with the date of construction in the late 4th or early 3rd centuries BC. It is possible that the shape of the bedrock may have dictated this aspect of the design. The seating was divided by seven radial stairways, of which the outer two ran along the *analemmata* (supporting walls), and the middle stairway along the central axis of the theatre.[20] Interestingly, the best-preserved stairway is the first one to the west of the central line, and it is this stairway which faces due south. The rise of the seating is at an angle of 26.5 degrees.[21] The rise of each seat was about 35 cm, with a curved front edge creating a bullnose, allowing the audience member to draw his or her feet back. The seats were coated with pebble cement, which was covered with a fine, hard, white stucco. This coating was applied over all of the seats, both those carved out of the bedrock and those placed over top of the earthen embankments.

From this basis of the *cavea* the theatre was develop and changed considerably over time in the following five distinct phases:

Phase One: Hellenistic Construction, c. 300 BC

The earliest phases are the most difficult to identify. As mentioned above, this is largely due to the fact that the majority of architectural and other traces of the first theatre at Paphos, like most other Classical or early Hellenistic theatres, have been completely obliterated by the later phases of construction at the site. Each renovation destroyed key elements of the previous theatre, particularly

[20] Green and Stennett 2002, 160-169.
[21] Green and Stennett 2002,167.

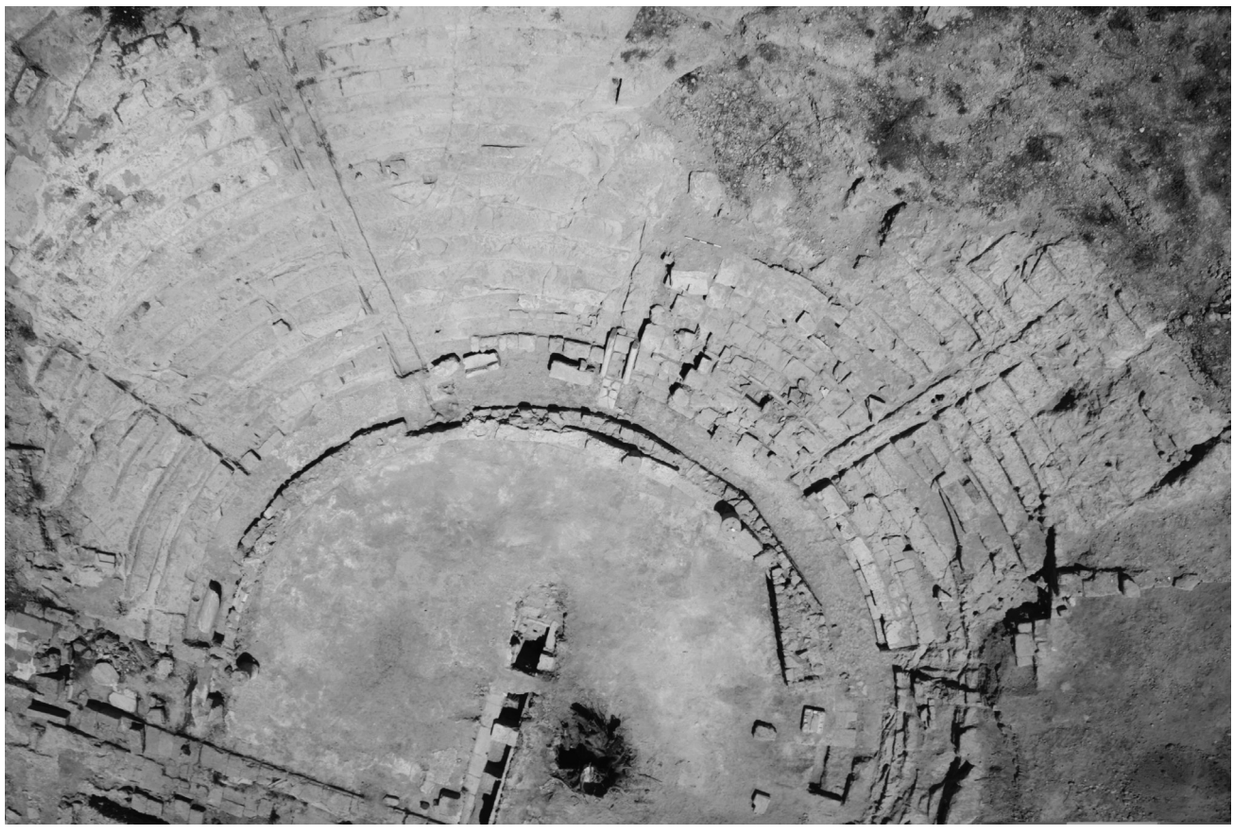

Figure 5: Aerial photograph of the *cavea* and orchestra (courtesy Bob Miller).

the decorative elements of the stage building. Given that the stage building was in probability a wooden structure in this phase, and the orchestra a mud-packed surface, there is very little remaining evidence outside of the carving of the *cavea* itself. It is possible that the architect who had constructed this phase of the theatre was echoing the theatre of Alexandria, particularly the concept of the artificial embankments on both the western and eastern ends of the *cavea*. As previously noted, the sides of the *cavea* were built up on artificial embankments, with a reddish soil containing stone chips used as the fill. Small support walls were created onto the bedrock in order to create containment for the soil and prevent slippage. At least two of these walls are known on the western *cavea* excavated in 2010.[22] It remains difficult to determine whether this artificial creation of the earthen embankment took place in the initial construction or during the Alexandrian phase, as there is so little surviving evidence. It is possible that initially, during the 3rd century BC, soil slopes were created and held in place, while the stone cut seating blocks for the higher levels of the *cavea* were first created in the 2nd century BC, during the theatre's second phase of architectural development.

The initial theatre was undoubtedly much smaller than the final structure that it became – indeed, it is possible that the alignment of the theatre or even the shape of the theatre was slightly different in these earlier phases. There is just not enough evidence to deliberate further. Of interest are a series of deep bedrock cuts visible in both the western and eastern *parodoi* (side-entrances) of the theatre.[23] Both were filled at a later date, partially by foundations for the support features for the Antonine period expansion of the theatre. The cut of the western *parodos* is much deeper than its eastern counterpoint, and has only been partially excavated by the Australian team to date.[24] It is over two metres deep, and appears at this point to have been a quarry that was terminated and then filled early in the theatre's history. However, further excavation and analysis is required to support this interpretation.

The dating of the theatre's construction at such an early stage in the history of the city is largely based upon epigraphic evidence, in particular a series of letterings carved into the vertical face of some rows of seats in the upper part of the *cavea*. The distinctive letter-forms of this dedicatory or honorific inscription are late 4th or early 3rd centuries BC in their shaping, particularly the *pi* with the short leg and the open form of the *omega*.[25] If the letters do confirm the dating, it demonstrates how quickly the Paphians were adopting theatrical production, and clearly shows the role theatre was to play in the Hellenistic *koine*.

[22] Barker 2012.

[23] Green, Barker and Stennett, forthcoming.
[24] Barker 2012.
[25] Green and Stennett 2002, 185 fig. 13.

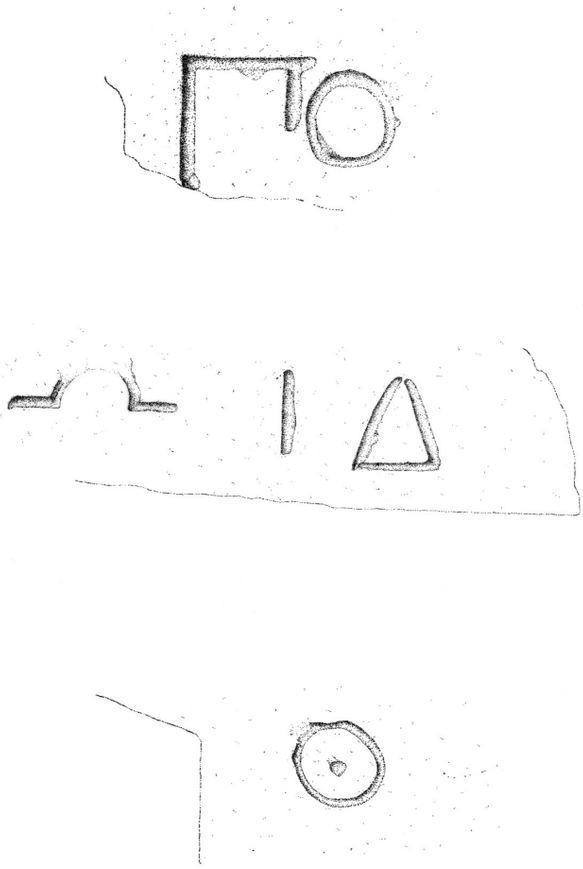

Figure 6: illustration depicting early Hellenistic letter carved in the seats of the upper *cavea* (courtesy of Geoff Stennett).

Phase Two: Alexandrian Theatre, c. mid 2nd century BC

This phase probably saw the theatre's first stone stage building. A series of limestone architectural fragments from the front of the stage have already been published,[26] including a remarkable well-preserved painted and plastered block of a Doric frieze, a Doric capital, and a series of limestone cornices with modillion fragments that are typically 2nd century BC Alexandrian in appearance (and with stylistic parallels to parts of the 'Tombs of the Kings' burials).[27] The floor of the stage at this point, based upon parallels with contemporary theatres, should have been quite high – perhaps close to two metres above ground. The stage building was clearly demonstrating the cultural influence that Alexandria had over its colony city.

The dating of this Alexandrian phase to the middle of the 2nd century BC is strongly supported by epigraphic evidence. A published inscription referencing the Guild of Artists of Dionysos dates to this era and may indicate a period of transformation for the theatre.[28] A now-lost statue base of Theodoros, son of the *strategos* Seleukos, erected between 142 and 131 BC listed members of the

[26] Green 2007a, 9-15.
[27] Green 2007a, 9-15.
[28] Mlyznarczyk 1990, 138ff.

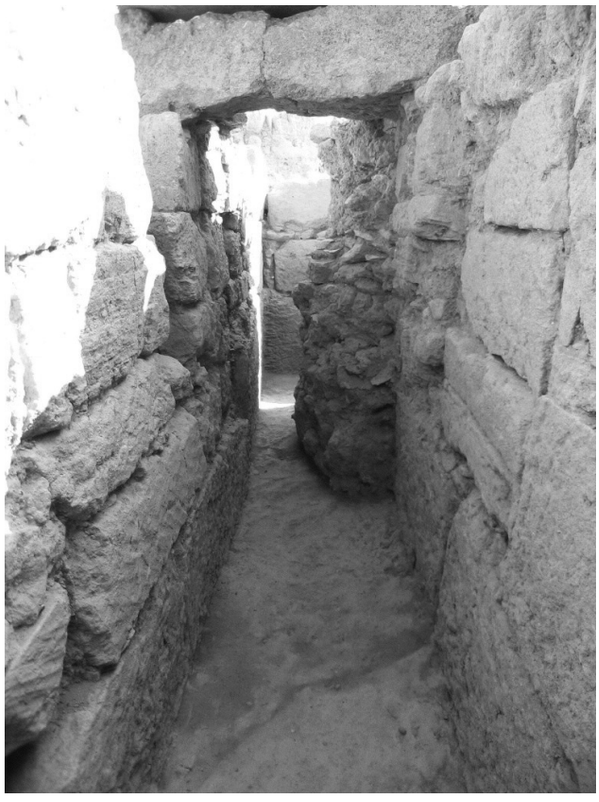

Figure 7: Inside the sub-orchestral tunnel (courtesy of Geoff Stennett).

Paphian board (*grammateion*) of the Guild. The dedication lists Paphian playwrights and actors,[29] indicating not only a thriving theatre community in Nea Paphos by the middle of the century, but also that this increased activity by the guild may be contemporary with the renovated theatre.[30]

There are other innovations in terms of the theatre architecture in this phase. The most significant is the opening of a perpendicular tunnel running from the rear of the stage building under the orchestra on a central axis.[31] Measuring 180 x 72 cm in section, it enabled actors to move unseen from the stage to the furthest part of the orchestra for surprise appearances. These so-called 'Charonian tunnels' are not unknown in contemporary Hellenistic theatres,[32] but the Paphos example is remarkable in its preservation.

It may be assumed that the *cavea* was enlargened at this point too, but again it is difficult to determine the precise chronological development of the early shape of the theatre given later construction. Importantly, there can be little doubt that the theatre of Paphos would have echoed aspects of the lost theatre of Alexandria, especially in terms of architectural appearance.[33]

[29] SEG VI, 813; Mitford 1953, 135-7; Nicolaou 1966, 580.
[30] Green, Barker and Stennett, forthcoming.
[31] Green and Stennett 2002, 172; Barker and Stennett 2004, 266-7.
[32] For example Eretria, Fiechter 1937, 27 with figs 21 and 25. See Green, Barker and Stennett, forthcoming for a full list.
[33] Green 2000, 115-126.

Phase Three: Augustan Theatre, c. 14 BC

This is perhaps the least understood phase of the theatre's history, but there appears to have been work on the theatre following a significant earthquake around 14 BC. According to Seneca,[34] the town was nearly destroyed, and Dio Cassius tells us that Nea Paphos was restored by Augustus and called *Augusta* in his honour.[35]

It is difficult to tell how severely the theatre was damaged by the event, but it does appear that there was some alteration. It may turn out to be more correctly labelled as a restoration phase rather than a renovation phase. It is difficult to determine if there had been any changes to the architecture of the stage building, as the few possible architectural fragments uncovered that may date to this phase are extremely fragmentary.

It is likely there was earthquake damage to the western *parodos* area, as the *analemmata* may have collapsed and were re-built.[36] The western *analemma* wall was re-enforced and widened, which resulted in the angle of the *cavea* becoming 181.5 degrees, slightly larger than a semi-circle.[37] It is also probable that the Charonian tunnel was filled – at least partially – at this point.

Phase Four: The Antonine Theatre, mid 2nd century AD

The Antonine phase is the phase of the theatre's history of which the largest amount of evidence survives. The stage building was replaced by a new version, which was faced with marble and fronted by marble columns, including series of spirally fluted columns. The amount of imported marble material from across the Mediterranean in this phase is testament to the scale of Roman trade in the 2nd century AD, and also the uniformity in architectural design that theatres across the eastern Mediterranean adopted with a noticeable degree of architectural centralization from Rome itself.

The level of the orchestra was raised over 50cm higher than its previous level, and a marble pavement was added. The stage building was now two storeys high, clad with a marble veneer, built upon substantial foundations, and decorated with imperial portraiture, some fragments of which have survived.

The remodelling of the theatre was commemorated with a major inscription on the architrave, which stretched out for over 12 metres either side of the central door of the stage-building. Two parts of the inscription have been recovered; one in 1916, the second by the Australian Mission in 2002, where it was discovered lying face-down in a secondary-use context. During the theatre's final phase, it was

Figure 8: Antonine spirally-fluted column fragment (courtesy Bob Miller).

reused as a threshold leading from the western *parodos* onto the orchestra. The inscription, although incomplete, acknowledges the Emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius with official and honorific titles, and also refers to "Augusta Claudia Flavia Paphos, the sacred mother-city of the cities of Cyprus".[38] It is an important symbol, not only of direct Roman influence in the eastern Mediterranean, but also of the ongoing role the theatre was playing in the community of Roman Nea Paphos.

The *parodoi* were remodelled according to the inscription, covered by vaulting (thus conforming with Roman standards too) and the interiors of the *parodoi* were decorated with fresco designs.[39] Some traces of the latter remain *in situ* on the *analemma* wall, while other traces have been recovered from fallen blocks. There is some conjuncture as to whether the *parodoi* were opened or closed. Either way, there were major entrances from the south running past the end of the stage building.[40] A mosaic, sloped entranceway has been uncovered on the eastern side, taking people into the eastern *parodos* via the western wall of the adjacent nymphaeum discussed below.[41] On the western *parodos*, the floor was covered with plaster designed to give the

[34] N.Q. vi.26, Epistle 91.
[35] liv.23.
[36] Green and Stennett 2002, 178.
[37] Green and Stennett 2002, 157ff.
[38] Nicolaou 2003, 305-308; Green and Stennett 2002, 188.
[39] Wood Conroy 2002, 275-300.
[40] Barker and Stennett 2004, 272-274.
[41] Barker 2009/2010, 18.

Figure 9: The two surviving sections of the Antonine inscription (courtesy Bob Miller).

Figure 10: The western *parodos* with surviving *analemma* and traces of painted plaster *in situ* (courtesy Bob Miller)

imitation of marble blocks, while the eastern *parodos* was at least partially covered by a mosaic.

The extension of the size of the *cavea* in this phase, including the addition of new seating over the vaulted *parodoi* is visible in excavations in the north-western area of the theatre where the remains of *vomitoria* have been excavated, and significant extension of the retaining walls have been noted.[42] At this point, the theatre is at its maximum size and capacity; able to hold up to 8500 spectators.[43]

Phase Five: The 3rd century AD theatre

The ultimate phase of the theatre involves the conversion of the space, particularly the orchestra, for use for combats and water spectacles. These changes occurred sometime in the 3rd century, presumably after an event (perhaps an unrecorded earthquake?) that caused serious damage to the stage building, as evidenced by reuse of architectural blocks such as the secondary use of the Antonine inscription. The marble pavement was removed, and the orchestra was resurfaced with pink-coloured waterproof cement, into which marble blocks were imbedded. A barrier wall was erected around the edge of the orchestra, approximately 1.1 metres high, and the entrances from the *parodoi* were partially blocked off so as to limit the length of temporary containment barriers. This containment provided protection to the audience from the events taking

[42] Barker and Stennett 2004, 262-5.
[43] Green and Stennett 2002, 169.

Figure 11: The containment wall erected around the orchestra in the 3rd century AD (courtesy Bob Miller).

place in the orchestra, while the stage building was unlikely to have been used.[44]

Animal displays, gladiatorial contests and water spectacles were a popular form of entertainment in the eastern Mediterranean at the time, and it looks as if the theatre of Paphos, like other eastern Mediterranean theatres, was modified to house these spectacles. The series of terracotta pipes with lead spouts found in the area of the stage building suggests how the water was used to fill the orchestra,[45] but like the nearby *nymphaeum*, the inflow of water to the theatre is still not fully understood but will be the subject of much future investigation. It is possible there was some form of water reservoir on the top of Fabrika Hill.

Recycled material from earlier theatre phases that was later built into the containment walls suggests that this was a period of restricted finances (possibly affected by the general economic crisis of the 3rd century AD),[46] and contrasts sharply with the Antonine makeover of the previous century. The theatre was not to survive for much longer.

Destruction and Abandonment of the Theatre

The final use of the theatre for performance or entertainment purposes took place in the later 4th century AD until it was destroyed as the result of an earthquake or earthquakes, perhaps even the disastrous AD 365 episode. By this time, Paphos had become an important seat of Christianity; part of the fame of Nea Paphos is due to the visit by St Paul in AD 68. The changing moral attitudes towards pagan theatrical performance and entertainment during the 4th century, combined with the devastating effects of the earthquake, meant that for the first time in the structure's history there was no attempt to rebuild. On the contrary, the site changes its function. Many of the architectural elements, particularly marble, were carried off for use in construction of the large Chrysopolitissa basilica (Ayia Kyriaki) some 300 metres away.[47]

Eventually, most of the seating was also carried away; firstly the seats on top of the soil embankments, and in time stone blocks were carved out of the bedrock central sector as well as the site was eventually denuded of its architectural integrity. The discovery of two inscriptions bearing the name Eustorgis gives significant insight into this period.[48] One was carved into a granite column incorporated into the orchestral containment wall, while the second inscription was carved into a reused statue base set up in the *cavea*. They are assumed to date from the late 4th or 5th century

[44] Green and Stennett 2002, 172-175.
[45] Green and Stennett 2002, 185 fig 13.1.
[46] There is considerable literature on the Roman economy of this era, see for example Hekster 2008.
[47] Green and Stennett 2002, 187.
[48] Green and Handley 2010, 197-211.

Figure 12: An inscription bearing the name Eustorgis (courtesy Bob Miller).

Figure 13: Mosaic on the western side of the site (courtesy Bob Miller).

AD. Who Eustorgis was remains a mystery, but he is a key indicator of the changing dynamics of the site; the public space becoming private. He must have meant a great deal to the quarrymen who had the contract for pulling the stone from the site; and the inscriptions identify this space (or at least part of it) as now being his property.

The process of stone removal and quarrying must have taken centuries. Columns piled in the eastern *parodos*, and architectural elements left in the *nymphaeum*, suggest that the workmen were leaving material where it could be accessed for later use. It is also possible that the site was being used for industrial or semi-industrial activities, such as tanning. Initial analysis of skeletal material shows the remains of beasts of burden from these 5th to 7th century contexts, which were then butchered to not waste any of the carcass, some of which could have been used for industry as well as food.

The early interpretation of this abandonment phase was one of harsh work, and the site was identified as little more than a quarry. A more sophisticated analysis is now emerging from the evidence. A full range of Late Antique ceramics are emerging from the site,[49] including an increasingly significant amount of imported Egyptian ceramics. The discovery of a large mosaic on the western side of the site, which is tentatively dated to the 5th century AD based on stylistic grounds at this point,[50] suggesting that parts of the former theatre site may well have been in use contemporaneously for a range of purposes at the same time that the site is being exploited for commercial gain. The post-theatrical life of Fabrika is a complex one.

The latest datable artefact from Late Antiquity recovered from the site is a gold *tremissis* of Constantine IV (668-685 AD),[51] which corresponds with historical traditions of Arab raids on Paphos in the late 7th century AD. The use of the site had changed considerably, and although there may be some 8th century AD material, it does seem as if the southern slope of Fabrika was abandoned until the return of economic prosperity at the time of the Crusades.

The *nymphaeum*

As well as the theatre itself, ongoing archaeological investigation is now providing us with a greater understanding of the surrounding precinct. It is important to note that the theatre was not isolated from the community it served, and archaeological investigation is gradually revealing a complex urban environment of which the theatre was only one part. Work to date has been carried out in the location around the south eastern part of the site.

The *nymphaeum* has been excavated by the Australian Mission since 2008.[52] Although the precise chronology of the *nymphaeum* is yet to be fully understood, excavations have revealed a structure probably completed sometime in the 1st century AD. The building certainly predates the Antonine expansion of the theatre of the mid 2nd century AD, as the theatre abuts the *nymphaeum* and is shaped to fit around the earlier structure. The *nymphaeum* is a monumental structure, befitting such an important public precinct so close to the main city gate. Over twenty metres in length, and five metres in width, the building is created from large masonry blocks, at least two courses high on the southern side, and higher on the rear. A central niche in the back presumably held sculptural adornments, of which some small worked marble fragments survive. The structure was covered with a floor mosaic decorated with a very simple star pattern. The mosaic itself was laid into the same water-proofed mortar as from the final phase of the orchestra, and was patched in at least two places with plaster. The walls were plastered with faint traces of paint surviving. The entire four walls were chamfered with a plaster curving from the wall to the mosaic which only increased the water efficacy of the structure.

Flow of water into the building is still not fully understood, but outlets must have taken water to a drainage system

[49] Gabrieli, Jackson and Kaldeli 2007, 791-801.
[50] The mosaics of the site are undergoing further study, and will be presented in the final excavation report of the project in the near future.
[51] Green, Barker and Gabrieli 2004, 25.
[52] Barker 2007/2008, 40-47; Barker 2009/2010, 16-19; Barker 2012.

Figure 14: The *nymphaeum* (Craig Barker).

running under the main east-west road.[53] A small bedrock-cut inlet running from almost the central axis of the *nymphaeum* into the main drain was excavated in 1996. A number of bedrock cut channels, some with piping in situ, run towards the east of the theatre. These too may have provided water flow outlets, although they are probably more likely associated with the theatre itself and the eastern *parodos*. Above the road surface, from the southern wall of the *nymphaeum*, a small plaster-lined semi-circular trough probably provided fresh water for pedestrians passing by.

The role of *nymphaea* in Roman urbanisation as both a symbol of civic patronage and as a means of controlling the environment of an urban landscape has been much debated.[54] In the case of Nea Paphos, its location so close to the main ancient city gate and so close to the theatre demonstrates the high level of pedestrian traffic using the road. Separated from the main agora of Nea Paphos,[55] the precinct was obviously an important public space, enabling audience members easy flow in and out of the city, and the *nymphaeum* was an important part of the city's infrastructure.

It can be assumed that the *nymphaeum* was disused from the time of the same late 4th century AD earthquake that devastated the theatre, when water supply to the structure was presumably blocked and it partially collapsed on itself. There is significant burning in the centre of the *nymphaeum* mosaic, perhaps the result of the initial collapse from the earthquake. The remnants of the *nymphaeum* were filled with architectural elements and debris piled on top of each other; marble and limestone Corinthian columns (from at least three sequences), limestone architraves, stone niches and semi-circular engaged column fragments, limestone seats from the theatre. Initially, it was thought all architectural elements were theatrical, but it seems more likely that there is an amalgamation of material from the *nymphaeum* itself in addition to the theatre and probably other buildings from the theatre precinct.

[53] Rowe 1998, 179: Rowe 1999, 269-278.
[54] See for example, Longfellow 2010.
[55] Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 249ff.

Figure 15: Dumped architectural elements within the post-destruction fill of the *nymphaeum* (Craig Barker).

The initial and preliminary investigation of the ceramics from the *nymphaeum* seems to indicate material ranging from the 5th century to the 7th century AD, and possibly even into the 8th century. While the material still requires full analysis, it does seem to suggest that the *nymphaeum* was initially destroyed around the same time as the theatre. It was then used as a dumping ground for architectural debris from the theatre and probably other buildings in the theatre precinct for several centuries. The evidence supports the theory that the theatre was not stripped of stone architectural features and quarried in a very short period, but rather that the destructive phase took place over a long period. The remains of the *nymphaeum* provided a convenient dumping ground for material that was either not of any use, or was placed there for future use. Its function, too, had changed from a public and communal area, to a private space for the disposal of wastage.

Roads and Urbanisation

As well as the *nymphaeum*, in recent seasons the Australian Mission has been further investigating a stone paved road due south of the theatre. The road was made of limestone pavers laid evenly long ways. Wheel ruts are discernible, and a large bedrock drainage system running directly beneath the road has been identified. A granite colonnade almost certainly lined the southern side of the road (some still preserved *in situ*), although the nature of the buildings to the south has yet to be explored. The road was completely covered with collapsed stone blocks, debris from the late 4th century AD earthquake. This tumble of

Figure 16: The road to the south of the theatre (Craig Barker).

collapsed stone – probably the remnants of the buildings on the southern side of the road – is noticeable in all of the trenches excavated thus far, presumably covering the entire road surface. Given the road's location so close to the north-east gate, it can be assumed that this was the main east-west road of the northern part of the city.

The existence of the road was known since test trenches were opened in the mid 1990s, but these recent excavations now enable us to explore the theatre precinct within a much broader context, including the urban layout of Nea Paphos. Firstly, we know now that the theatre was on a different alignment from the rest of the public buildings in the north-eastern quarter. While the theatre was facing south south-west, the *nymphaeum* and road are on a strict east-west, north south axis. It is not just the *nympaheum*; buildings uncovered during unpublished excavation by the Department of Antiquities in the area of the Omirou property, just east of the ancient theatre site, seem to also reflect this strict adherence to alignment.[56] It means that the theatre was closer to the road on the eastern side, and when expanded in the Antonine phase it was shaped to fit around a pre-existing structure by necessity. On the western side, this means that there was considerable space between the road and the rear of the stage-building. It can only be assumed that there was a building or buildings located in this area, but the nature of this space cannot be determined as it has not yet been excavated. One trench opened in 2010 more-or-less due south of the central axis of the theatre revealed part of the road, including a fallen granite column, presumably from the southern colonnade. Interestingly, however, there are foundations to a wall on the northern edge of the road, and the bedrock is stepped on three levels, indicating the altering of the landscape to provide some sort of facing from the street towards the rear of the stage building. There was seemingly a deliberate attempt to landscape the view of the theatre from the city. It is clear considerable care has gone to the appearance of the theatre as seen from the road.

Jolanta Mlynarczyk has on numerous occasions proposed a reconstruction of Hellenistic and Roman Nea Paphos along a Hippodamian grid plan, which was separated into two distinct quadrants separated by a main central road running down to the harbour.[57] In this reconstruction of the city, the north-east section of the town should have *insulae* blocks approximately 35 x 90 metres in size. Aerial photography shows modern roads in Kato Paphos generally appear to follow the lines of the proposed ancient roads. The modern Odos Onisilou, for example, the street that ran across the archaeological site (indeed underground service trenches and modern pipes cut across the eastern *parodos*), is similar to the ancient east-west road of the theatre precinct. The existence of the road in the theatre precinct is additional proof in the hypothesis of the use of a Hippodamian grid in Nea Paphos.

In 2010 the Australian Mission conducted a ground penetrating radar (GPR) survey of vacant land due south of the theatre site. The project was designed with the hope of identifying the locations of the *insulae* blocks of the north-eastern quarter and to act as guidance for future excavations. The survey did identify a number of interesting structures, but the amount of tumble as a result of the earthquake or earthquakes in Late Antiquity seen in the excavation of the road areas has made it difficult to identify definitive outlines of regular blocks of architecture. Thus future investigation will be reliant upon physical excavation to confirm further evidence of the layout of the town. At this point however, it does appear as if the north-eastern quarter of the city, except for Fabrika Hill and the theatre itself, is on a regular east-west alignment.

Conclusions

The theatre and the theatre precinct of Nea Paphos provide an excellent case study for the analysis of continuity and destruction to public spaces over long periods of history in the Eastern Mediterranean. Archaeological assessment of material cultural remains to date has provided us with evidence of one of the most significant public buildings in the Hellenistic and Roman capital of Cyprus. The theatre, like other Paphian archaeological sites, reflects the city's important external cultural contacts through its close connections with its mother cities, firstly Alexandria and then Rome, as well as evidence of the city's direct involvement in maritime trade routes. Theatre was itself an important symbol of the changes sweeping the eastern Mediterranean in the wake of Alexander, and its adoption in the east provides a sense of the new world. The establishment of a public space for a theatre so soon after the foundation of Nea Paphos is indicative of the importance theatrical performance would play in the new Hellenistic *koine*. The changing architectural features of the Nea Paphos theatre over the six and a half centuries of its use demonstrate clearly not only architectural developments, but also the evolving nature of performance and entertainment over that period. We see a relatively

[56] S. Raptou, personal communication.

[57] Mlynarczyk 1985b, 317-325; Mlynarczyk 1990, 160-177.

Figure 17: A map of the theatre precinct showing areas examined by the 2010 GPR survey (courtesy Guy Hazell and Sam Moody).

standard theatre that emphasised architectural links with Ptolemaic Alexandria (as did contemporary Paphian architecture such as the 'Tombs of the Kings'), develop to one that was constructed to reflect the glory of central Rome in the Antonine phase, to finally a building modified in the 3rd century AD for more local tastes, such as water spectacles and displays of animals. Each phase was a response to economic, cultural and political changes – the final phase for example was obviously a period of restricted funding given the amount of re-used stone used in the

containment wall and orchestral modifications. But each phase was also a response to popular tastes in performance and entertainment. Throughout its lifespan the theatre was an important public space – able to hold up to 8500 people by the mid 2nd century AD. The road and the *nymphaeum* also reflect the public nature of the precinct space – this was an important quarter for the functioning of the Roman city of Nea Paphos. The destruction wrought by seismic activity in the second half of the 4th century on the other hand saw the relationship between space and community change. The area was no longer a prominent space in the city; it can be postulated that as the population of Nea Paphos shrinks in Late Antiquity it contracts to the area around the harbour. The back of the city, located within the former city walls, becomes an industrial or semi-industrial zone, probably exploited for profit as evidenced by the Eustorgis inscriptions – firstly a quarry, then later probably used for some degree of industrial production, including possibly tanning. Although the process is obviously complex, the end result is that the theatre and the *nymphaeum* become privately owned spaces, and their previous usage was eventually forgotten under the gradual accumulation of soil. By the Middle Ages, the area of the former orchestra and stage building of the theatre was covered by private farmsteads and courtyards.

The continuity of six centuries of public performance space is eventually broken as a result of destruction and changing civic morality, and the theatre precinct became a private space. It firstly acts as a quarry where architectural stone blocks and eventually bedrock were exploited. Later the debris across the former theatre becomes prime agricultural land and it remains in private hands right up until the final decade of the 20th century when it becomes an archaeological zone.

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Christian Transformation of Pagan Cult Places: the Case of Aegae, Cilicia

*Ildikó Csepregi**

The history of incubation, sleeping in a sanctuary to obtain healing, offers various models for dealing with the memory of the ritual attached to a cult place.[1] In this paper I aim to highlight one of the methods of gradual transformation: how the emerging Christian Church coped with the popularity of incubation practice, especially at famous cult sites. Temple sleep is all the more exemplary in this regard, because the whole process of Christian continuity or Christian destruction of the practice had to take into account several elements: the cult site itself, the healer-figure, the very ritual of sleeping in the sanctuary, the dream as medium, as well as the oral and written traditions that carried the memory of the successful miraculous cures. Temple sleep was not only deeply rooted and popular but it answered an elemental human demand: namely healing. These factors made it impossible for the early Christian Church to simply ban it as a pagan practice. The Christianisation of incubation had its attempts at demolishing the cult sites, banning ritual sleep, or reusing the buildings, and competing with the cult predecessors, but the most successful process was by conquering this pagan ritual through a new Christian narrative. The Church created her own Christian doctor saints who cured sick worshippers in dream visitations.[2] Not only the incubation ritual became attached to these saints, but some important incubation places also entered into the hagiography of the Christian dream healers. Destruction and continuity are both part and parcel of this process of creating new narratives, by taking over what a cult place could offer – its fame for thaumaturgic powers – and annulling the pagan healer by promoting new, Christian, miracle workers instead, often with similar attributes, in order to fulfil a similar function. The town of Aegae in Asia Minor will be my case study in this present enquiry.

The essence of incubation practice was that the sick persons or those who wished to receive an oracle went to the sacred place of the divinity with the explicit goal of sleeping there and experiencing in a dream the epiphany of the god. There were several healing deities, heroes, and locally worshipped healing cults[3] (many of which claimed widespread fame, such as Amphiaraos in Oropos, Trophonios in Lebadea), yet healing incubation was primarily within the cult of Asclepius[4] (and later of Isis and Serapis).

The rising Christian Church had to tackle quite a number of challenges regarding incubation. One was the popularity of Asclepius, who was by no means one of the fading deities of Greek mythology but an active and functioning god, whose relationship to his worshippers was one of a personal deity.[5] The forms of invocation or epithets of Greek deities always emphasise the nature of the god. Asclepius (whose name might contain the word *epios*, gentle) was called Σωτήρ, the Saviour, φιλάνθρωπος or φιλόλαος, the lover of people, at Epidauros he was known as Συγγνώμων, the Considerate, and in Hellenistic times he was also called also Asklepios Παῖς, both for his regard to children in his healings as well as an expression of the worshippers' tenderness towards his figure.[6] His mythology (being born to a god and a mortal woman, being killed by Zeus and resurrected as a god), his immense popularity attested by hundreds of sanctuaries well beyond the frontiers of the Greek speaking world, and mostly his attributes of Soter-Healer-Deliverer rendered him a powerful opponent of Christ.[7]

Similarly, cults like those of Isis or Serapis, deities who also functioned as healers and integrated incubation, were a constant challenge to ecclesiastical authorities. When falling ill, the patients continued to turn to celebrated shrines, to the healer who was regarded as the most effective. A further peculiar feature of incubation, both pagan and Christian, was that the ritual was linked to the place itself, rather than to the healing figures. The importance was in

* My participation at the 'Continuity and Destruction' conference of 2011 was supported by the Cultsymbols project of the European Science Foundation and the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA), while the completion of this paper was part of my research in the ERC project № 324214: Vernacular religion on the boundary of Eastern and Western Christianity: continuity, changes and interactions.

1 The most useful literature on Greek incubation is still Deubner 1900, Hamilton 1906 and Meier 1989.

2 The most important ones are Sts Cosmas and Damian (the Greek edition of the miracles: Deubner, 1907); St Thecla (Dagron, 1987); Sts Cyrus and John (Fernandez Marcos, 1975). French translation of the miracles of Thecla, Cosmas and Damian and excerpts from Cyrus and John: Festugière 1971 and Cyrus and John: Gascou 2006; for the present study I leave aside other incubation cults as those of Artemios and Febronia, St Therapon, St Demetrios, St Dometius, or Isaiah, Michael, or St Menas.

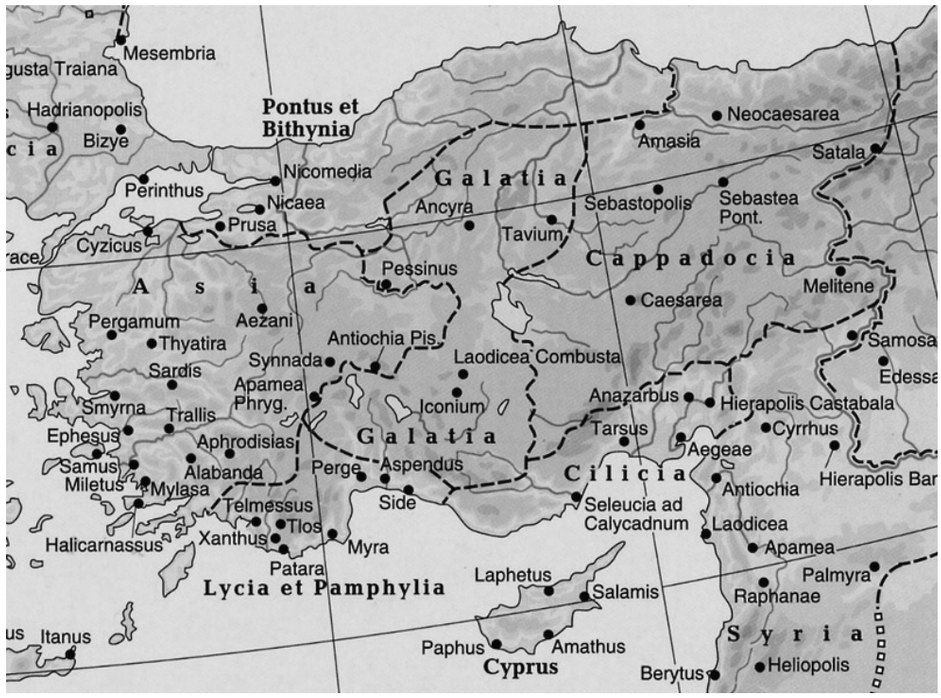
3 Jayne 1925 and Farnell 1921.

4 For the testimonies on Asclepius cf. Edelstein and Edelstein 1998 (T in what follows refers to the testimonia in this volume); Girone 1998; on his temples: Melfi 2007.

5 Festugière 1960.

6 From the 2-3rd century AD we have records of a statue by a certain Boethos (2nd c. BC) representing Asclepius as a new-born infant: T 599 (=IG XIV 967a) mentions 'the divine child, […] who has just been borne by his mother'; cf. T 600. For the artistic borrowings for Christ's figure from Asclepius cf. Dinkler 1980. For the significance of the statues of Asclepius to Christians cf. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclestiastica*. VIII, 18 and the Passio IV SS Coronatum in *Acta Sanctorum* November 3; the interconnectedness of the representation of Asclepius and Christ is well illustrated also by Mathews, 1993, 69-72, with images of Jesus healing in figures 35-45.

7 First Harnack 1892, 89ff and more recently Rüttimann,1986, Krug,1985, 120-187; Justinus, *Apologia*, 22, 6 (T 94), 21, 1-2 (T 335), 54, 10 (T332); Justinus, *Dialogus*, 69, 3 (T95), *Acta Pilati*, A. I, 216 = T 334; T 584, T 818, Lactantius *Divinae Institutiones* IV, 27, 12 (T333), Clemens of Alexandria, *Stromateis* V, 1,13 (T 336); Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, I. 49 (T 584); Eusebius of Caesarea, *De Vita Constantini* III, 56 (T 818); Eusebius Hieronymus, *Vita Hilarionis* 2 (T 818a).



Map: Roman provinces of Asia minor in the 2nd century AD; Source: Hartwin Brandt/Frank Kolb, *Lycia et Pamphylia. Eine römische Provinz im Südwesten Kleinasiens*. Orbis Provinciarum, Mainz 2005.

being there, in the temple or within the church, and when it was impossible, the patient had to send a proxy who went there and slept on his behalf, instead of invoking the healer. It is precisely because of the site's importance that the previous cult place, the temple buildings, and the memory attached to the place deeply influenced the Christianisation of this ritual.

In 435 AD, Emperor Theodosius II issued the edict that determined the fate of incubation temples – as well as of other pagan cult sites. It ordered the destruction of those pagan temples and cult buildings which were still partly standing or even intact: 'cunctaque eorum fana templa delubra, si qua etiam nunc restant integra, praecepto magistratuum destrui conlocationeque venerandae Christianae religionis signi expiari praecipimus.'[8] Although the actual impact of this order is dubious, the edict itself employed the significant phrasing, *praecepto magistratuum*, that is, leaving the fate of the edifices to the discretion of the executing magistrates. Other considerations were probably added to this condition, depending on the geographical, topographical locations of the buildings, on their material value or their state of preservation as well as factors such as the way the cult site was used or the presence of cult statues. Thus, the fate of the cult buildings could be varied: on the rarest occasions the buildings, left in their original state, came to be used as Christian places of worship.[9] However, the complete and systematic destruction of temples was similarly exceptional (such as the Asclepeia in Corinth (397) and Pergamon (324/5), or the infamous plundering of the Alexandrian Serapeion in 391 AD).[10] More often, temples that had already ceased to be used as cult places and begun to fall into ruin were transformed into Christian cult sites. This could happen long after they had been abandoned. [11] Even in such cases, the Christian buildings were generally erected only partly above or near the former cult places and not directly above them, often using the building material of the previous sanctuary. An exception from the realm of incubation buildings is the Christian basilica of Dor, some thirty kilometres south of Haifa, established in the middle of the 4th century AD and rebuilt over the same plan during the 5th century.[12] The excavation identified a Christian incubation hall in the western part of the church related to a cult of two "unnamed" saints. It also revealed that the church had been deliberately erected precisely over a Greek temple, which itself fell victim to a fire. The excavator of the site, Claudine Dauphin, seems to indicate that this fire was the result of Christians' destruction of the temple, similar to the looting of pagan temples in Byzantine Palestine, such as that of the the Marneion in Gaza in 402 AD described by Mark the Deacon.[13] She also offers an attractive hypothesis about cultic and ritual continuity, which is, however, difficult to prove. She suggests Asclepius as the missing link between the two phases of the cult complex for which we have

[8] Codex Theodosianus, XVI. 10. 25.
[9] For examples from Greece for all the variants see Speiser 1976.
[10] Speiser suggests that Christians were particularly hostile to *soter* deities like Asclepius, Serapis and Isis exactly because of the importance of the cult. See also De Waele 1933.
[11] Cf. the Asclepius temple in the Tiber Island in Rome: Brandenburg 2007.
[12] Dauphin 1999, for recent publication see the homepage of the ongoing excavation http://dor.huji.ac.il/.
[13] Dauphin 1999, 406.

solid archaeological evidence: the cult of Apollo from the Classical and Hellenistic periods and Christian incubation practice within the cult of the two saints whose names we cannot learn from the remains. According to Dauphin, the mid- or late 3rd century BC was the time when Asclepius could have replaced Apollo in Dor, possibly together with the introduction of incubation and with the addition of an incubation hall to the temple complex.[14] She conludes that "One trait particular to the Byzantine ecclesiastical complex at Dor was intimately connected with sickness and the recovery of health. This was the practice of incubation, adopted by Christianity from the rites of divine healing as practised in the temples of Asclepius. The Graeco-Roman God of Medicine thus provides the missing link at Dor between the cult of his father Apollo and that of his own rival and successor, Christ."[15]

There are two other examples of Christian use of pagan cult places worth mentioning, since in all likelihood they attest the continuity of healing cults and perhaps in both cases the continuity of healing incubation. One case is that of the Asclepeion near Athens in Piraeus, the site that most probably served as the setting for the incubation scene described in Aristophanes' *Plutus*, the first written description of the ritual that survives.[16] Here a church dedicated to Cosmas and Damian was erected over the Greek sanctuary. The other, more famous one, is the fate of the Athenian Asclepeion on the Acropolis, which from the beginning had an exceptional status among the cult places of Athens.[17] Christian architects in Athens seem to have deliberately avoided the city centre and especially the sites of previous temples for their building projects. With the Christian takeover of the city, a Byzantine church, first probably dedicated to Saint Andrew, was erected on the site of the Asclepeion in the 5th century AD.[18] The Christian construction incorporated the entire temple precinct of the Asclepeion, with its incubation hall, along with the sacred spring. St. Andrew himself was regarded by the Late Antique Greek Christians as a patron of healing.[19] Although opinions concerning the fate of the Asclepeion differ, scholars agree that the Christian practice replaced the ancient cult, more or less, over a single generation. T.E. Gregory has suggested that both the healing aspect as well as the incubation practice survived without interruption.[20] Between the 6th and 7th centuries, a large basilica of the *Hagioi Anargyroi*, the physician saints who heal free of charge – in this case probably Sts Cosmas and Damian – was erected over the site of the former Asclepeion, replacing the smaller church.

As the above examples illustrate, the Church, when establishing the cult of physician saints, had to counter not only the previous pagan healing figures but the sacred site itself (which could be not only a prominent cult building but also a dramatic natural phenomenon like a cave, a rock or a spring). To the sacred place several cult associations were attached, not just in the form of cult memory, with miraculous cures embedded in the oral tradition around the sanctuary but recording the cure was a ritual obligation and incubation temples stored these records, either or both in the forms of inscriptions and votive objects.

Often we are not dealing with a direct continuation of cult practice. Instead, the transformation of the existing pagan practice into a Christian one may have taken place over the long term, and often meant the Christianisation of the cult site, the ritual (incubation), the function (healing), the medium (dream) and, perhaps quite surprisingly, even the way the incubation miracles were recorded.

During this long journey of establishing Christian incubation, or, more precisely, letting it gradually develop and take shape, there were various attempts to mitigate the pagan heritage and to handle existing cult memories. Destroying the temples was perhaps the less frequent method, and, in certain respect, the less successful one. While destruction and cultic continuity were previously favoured topics in Late Antique studies, more recent scholarship, both in hagiography and archaeology, have given expression to more nuanced views, pointing out the gradual transformation of cult sites and the alternative modes of Christianizing cult practices.[21]

The beginnings of Christian incubation cults: the case of St Thecla

The earliest written collection of Christian incubation miracles is that of St Thecla from the 5th century AD that survived in Byzantine codices under the name of Basil of Seleucia, although he is certainly not the author.[22] It records Thecla's incubation miracles performed in Cilicia, in a town called Seleucia and in nearby Aegae. In Seleucia Thecla took over the cult of a previous pagan incubation healer, Sarpedonios. Because of the short time span between the

[14] Dauphin, 418, 424.
[15] Dauphin, 417.
[16] Aristophanes, *Plutus* 633-747, cf. Melfi 318-319.
[17] Frantz 1965.
[18] The dating for the building of the Christian basilica varies greatly: from the second half of the 5th century, mid-5th century, before the end of 5th century and after 529, see Melfi 405.
[19] Gregory 1986. Gregory claimed that Christians destroyed the temple, while A. Frantz saw a gradual process in the demise of the Asclepeion: 'More probably, the Temple of Asklepios, under pressure of the imperial edicts, was deconsecrated, but not yet destroyed, shortly before Proclus' death in 485, and its destruction, whether at the hands of the Christians, by earthquake[yet this is refuted by Frantz herself], or from natural decay, occurred toward the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth, to be followed after the closing of the schools in 529 by the construction of the church in the midst the temple's ruins', Frantz 1965, 195.
[20] Gregory's conclusion is convincing: 'Chronological considerations allow us to be certain that the pagan associations of the place were still alive when the church was built and the architectural and epigraphic evidence suggests that healing was still carried out in the same place.' Gregory 1986, 239.
[21] Two examples with relevance to incubation are found in Brandenburg 2007 and Grossmann 2007.
[22] For the Greek edition and modern translation of the text with excellent commentary see Dagron 1987. MT in what follows refers to *Miracula Theclae*.

cults, it is very likely that the memory of the pagan healer was still alive in the minds and stories of the local people, just as it was plausible that many of the inhabitants were still pagan as well.[23] Following his conversion, one of these became Thecla's anonymous 5th century hagiographer.[24] Our hagiographer was a man of Greek learning, and appears to have known of the miraculous cures attributed to Asclepius. He mentions Epidaurus, Pergamon and Aegae – of the latter he probably had close knowledge, both because of the vicinity to Seleucia where he was writing and most likely from the stories still in circulation about Asclepius' abilities.

At this point it is important to examine just how Thecla obtained her incubation cult and her martyr shrine in Seleucia. In the earlier version of her legend, the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*[25] from the 2nd century, there is no mention of her martyrdom (or any association with healing, for that matter). Instead, she is described to have died a peaceful death and been buried in Seleucia. When the *Acta Thecla* became independent from the *Acta Pauli*, it conformed to an important hagiographic demand: the importance of being a martyr. Additionally, the *Acta Thecla* successfully incorporated the heritage of the place itself. Thus in this new version of Thecla's *Life*, she is described as having disappeared into the ground above a cave that previously hosted the chtonic hero Sarpedonios.[26] The fact that the ground opened and swallowed the saint provided a natural explanation for the absence of her relics as well as references to this particular spot as Thecla's dwelling place. As one of the most important of the early saints, she was not driven by chance to places with such cultic significance. Her presence was meant to neutralise the previous ritual traditions and incorporate these healing sites into a new, Christian geography of holy places. It is worth noting that Thecla's other cult predecessor in Aegae, Athena, exercised her function as *soter* or protectoress of the community/town and not as a deliverer of individuals.[27] It is precisely these features that are seen in the story of Thecla taking up arms and fighting for Seleucia in its moment of peril, while her additional characteristics such as her patronage of literature and typically feminine tasks are also reminiscent of the Greek virgin-warrior.

Thecla's multiplicity explains the complexity of her incubation cult, since she was not only a healer-saint but even *soter* in a wider sense of the word.[28] Although she absorbed many other 'saving' roles from the cultic environment, her name and her cultic function here was associated with healing, as attested to by a grave-inscription of 'Thecla, the physician' from Seleucia.[29] While Thecla was worshipped in numerous places of both the Eastern Mediterranean and the West, she was associated with incubation only at Seleucia, Aegae and, later, in Constantinople, where she had a church in the Blachernai quarter, an area of the capital that hosted several other incubation saints at that time. It is safe to suggest that Thecla 'took over' the incubation function when she took over these cult sites, as incubation had played an important role there previously.

Instead of treating the pagan deities as inconvenient rivals, the hagiographer exploits the memory of the pagan cult to the utmost in his work. He starts with the figures that occupied the site before Thecla: the healing hero Sarpedonios, the divine Athena, Aphrodite and Zeus (and perhaps Artemis as well). First of all, he depicts a battle-scene between Thecla and the older deities in which Thecla triumphs and physically chases them away from the cult site. This gives Thecla a legitimacy and credibility, thus almost automatically and unquestionably transferring the efficacy of the cult site together with the healing powers of Sarpedonios' cave, Athena's patronage over the region or even Aphrodite's feminine concerns to Thecla, making her the new mistress of the cult site to her fullest potential. The hagiographer also incorporates into his narrative repertoire the contrasts between the old and new faith as represented between generations, spouses, lord and servant. Thus, in one such narrative, while the grandmother whose children were already Christians turns to Sarpedonios to cure her grandson, it is Thecla who heals the boy as a reward for the parents' faith.[30] Another story describes how the daughter of a tolerant pagan family is healed by Thecla and thus won for Christianity.[31] Yet another narrative describes how the pagan husband of a devotedly Christian wife was converted by Thecla in reward for the woman's faith.[32] Elsewhere, a Christian servant is in a position to teach a lesson to his master, as so often in Christian miracle collections, a particular miracle may affect both a rich and poor person simultaneously,[33] or Thecla can reinforce a sceptical Christian's belief by healing his sick horse.[34]

[23] For a detailed examination of temple conversions and their variants in the specific case of Cilicia see Bayliss 2004.
[24] Dagron 1974.
[25] *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, BHG 1710-1716; critical edition: *Acta Apostolorum Apochrypha*, eds. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, 3 vols, repr. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1959); English translation: *The Apocryphal New Testament*, M. R. James, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924).
[26] The change of the narrative was followed by the actual occupation of the site. For its archaeological analysis see Bayliss 2004, 89-90; the same anonymous hagiographer who collected the miracles in the 5th century also wrote Thecla's *Life*, relying on earlier legends. For the Greek and French text with introduction and commentary cf. Dagron 1987.
[27] For Dagron 1987, 84-85 Athena was a literary *topos*, the real rival was Sarpedonios, while Ernst Lucius regarded Thecla much more the heir to Athena. See Lucius 1908, 286. Athena clearly had connections with healing, as her name Athena Hygieia also attests (*Suda* s.v. *Athena Hygieia* and Pausanias, I, 23, 5.). Athena of Health was represented as a running figure with a serpent on her shield (Levi 1971, vol. 1, 65, note 134). One sculpture of Athena Hygieia is known from 5th century BC Athens, and three Roman replicas are in the Museum of Naples (the Athena Farnese), (formerly) in the Hope Collection in England, and in Cividate Camuto (Museo Archeologico della Valle Camonica). Regarding the importance of Athena in Aegae in the 4th century on the evidence of coins, see Lucius 1908, 279.
[28] I expand the connection between saviours and healers in Csepregi 2011.
[29] CIG IV, 9209, Linda Honey called attention to this testimony in her Review of Scott Johnson's book: *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, August 19, 2006. http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2006/2006-08-19.html.
[30] MT 11.
[31] MT 18.
[32] MT 14.
[33] MT 17.
[34] MT 36.

One of the protagonists in Thecla's miracles is Isocasios, a famous rhetor and court official under Leo I (457-474).[35] From other historical sources we know that in 467, Isocasios was arrested and accused of being pagan, but eventually he was acquitted. As we learn from the miracle story he could turn to Thecla and benefit from her miracle without converting to Christianity – all the saint did was scold him for being a pagan. This miracle took place not in Seleucia but in Aegae, where Isocasios' career as a grammarian and Sophist began, and from where he was sent out to Antioch and Constantinople. His relationship with Aegae, together with the town's pagan flavour, contributed to the hagiographer's choice of this story. Aegae was famous for its cult and temple of Asclepius, where incubation had been practiced for centuries. The hagiographer mentions another of Thecla's miracles related to Aegae, and his description of the place is most interesting: he praises Aegae as a town famous for its piety. Is this to be interpreted as the worship of Asclepius? Or is this some new, *Christian* association?

Aegae

Aegae (Cilicia, in modern Turkey) was a noted pilgrim site, and the fame of its Asclepius temple in the Roman period rivalled that of Pergamon in the Greek Near East. In the Asclepieion at Aegae the miraculous dream cures of the god were recorded in the temple in inscriptions.[36]

The Asclepius temple at Aegae figures in the story of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana, the wonderworker of the 1st century AD: The Sophist Philostratus writes that Apollonius, from Tyana in Asia Minor, chose this temple for his apprenticeship and that Asclepius himself expressed how he was pleased by Apollonius' presence.[37] Philostratus himself was in the company of the emperor Caracalla and Julia Domna in 215 when, following a visit to Pergamon, they visited Aegae and made a sacrifice to Asclepius. In the 3rd century, Aegae appears to have been a bustling pilgrim centre where both the tourist business and cultural activity were booming. The emerging Christian Church had to face the challenge this site presented. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, the Christian historian Sozomen attributed the destruction of the temple to Constantine in the year 331 AD, noting that the temple (together with that of Aphrodite Aphaca) '...had been the most distinguished and venerable to the ancients. As to the Aegeatae, they boasted that with them those sick in body were freed of their disease since at night the demon appeared and healed.'[38]

Almost a century earlier, Eusebius wrote the following about Asclepius and this temple: '...with thousands excited over him [sc. Asclepius] as if over a saviour and physician, who now revealed himself to those sleeping [in the temple at Aegae], and again healed the diseases of those ailing in body'[39] and it was he who described in great details the destruction of the Asclepeion:[40] 'For since a wide-spread error of these pretenders to wisdom concerned the demon worshiped in Cilicia, whom thousands regarded with reverence as the possessor of saving and healing power, who sometimes appeared to those who passed the night in his temple, sometimes restored the diseased to health, though on the contrary he was a destroyer of souls, who drew his easily deluded worshippers from the true Saviour to involve them in impious error, the emperor, consistently with his practice, and desire to advance the worship of him who is at once a jealous God and the true Saviour, gave directions that this temple also should be razed to the ground. In prompt obedience to this command, a band of soldiers laid this building, the admiration of noble philosophers, prostrate in the dust, together with its unseen inmate, neither demon nor god,

but rather a deceiver of souls, who had seduced mankind for so long a time through various ages. And thus he who had promised to others deliverance from misfortune and distress, could find no means for his own security, any more than when, as is told in myth, he was scorched by the lightning's stroke. Our emperor's pious deeds, however, had in them nothing fabulous or feigned; but by virtue of the manifested power of his Saviour, this temple as well as others was so utterly overthrown, that not a vestige of the former follies was left behind.'

It is doubtful whether the above happened in such a way or happened at all – some scholars think that if Constantine actually destroyed the temple, he did so for political reasons, as Aegae had allied itself with his rival, Licinius.[41] However, at this point it must be emphasised that although we do not know whether the Asclepeion was actually destroyed or not, the act of describing its destruction became a powerful narrative tool to proclaim the victory of Christianity over the old religion. Whatever had happened to the building itself by the 350's, the healing shrine continued to function – even if only in reduced circumstances. This is attested to by a late inscription from Epidaurus of 355 AD that records the dedication of Mnaseas, priest at the Asclepeion of Aegae of Cilicia.[42]

Soon, however, the events in Aegae took a turn and the town witnessed a second intellectual and cultic revival. When Julian became emperor in 360 AD, on his way to Constantinople he officially declared himself to be a follower of the old pagan gods. During his short reign (360-363) he tried to turn back the Christianisation of the empire, yet in his attempts he remained what he had been before coming to power: a writer and philosopher, a Greek thinker, who likened Asclepius to Christ:

[35] MT 39; Dagron 1987, 91-92.
[36] On the Asclepius cult in Aegae in general see Ziegler 1984, for the analysis of some particular inscriptions see Robert 1973.
[37] Vita Apollonii I, 8.
[38] Sozomenus, Ecclesiastical History 2.5; written in the mid-5th century, probably from 443 and onwards.
[39] De Vita Constantini 3. 56.
[40] De Vita Constantini 3. 56.
[41] See Steger 2004, 100 and footnote 168.
[42] Inscriptiones Graecae, IV^2 438: Ἀσκληπιῶι Αἰγεώτηι ὁ ἱεροφάντης καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ σωτῆρος Μνασέας Ἑρμιονεὺς κατ' ὄναρ τὸ *ν* σλβ. This is actually the latest surviving inscription about Asclepius' cult.

> Asclepius, having made his visitation to earth from the sky, appeared at Epidaurus singly, in the shape of a man; but afterwards he multiplied himself, and by his visitations stretched out over the whole earth his saving right hand. He came to Pergamon, to Ionia, to Tarentum afterwards; and later he came to Rome. And he travelled to Cos and thence to Aegae. Next he is present everywhere on land and sea. He visits no one of us separately, and yet he raises up souls that are sinful and bodies that are sick.[43]

Julian's devotion to Asclepius went hand in hand with his plan to restore important cult buildings: during the spring of the year 362, the emperor's uncle (Count Julian), outlined a plan in a letter to the emperor for the restoration of the temples in the East. Julian agreed to all of the suggestions, stipulating that the shrine of Apollo at Daphne should take precedence over everything else.[44] His uncle proceeded vigorously with the repossession of stolen temple property and the reconstruction of Asclepius' temple in Aegae, which soon must have been able to operate normally, as indicated by records of patients practising incubation from this time. Among these patients was Libanius, one of the most eminent intellectuals of the 4th century (c. 314-394), a friend of the emperor Julian and the teacher of John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia. In his 30th Oration, *For the Temples*, Libanius laments the 'injury done to the place'.[45] From his letters we learn more about his attachment to Asclepius and the pagan intelligentsia that flourished around the place. This pagan revival also inspired Libanius's Sophist friends in Tarsus, Demetrius, who composed two orations on Asclepius, and Acacius, who composed another such oration. Libanius himself was keenly interested in these activities at Aegae, partly because of his close connections with the extended familiar of Demetrius and Acacius, but more importantly because of his intimacy with the god of healing due to his chronic migraines. This can be seen in a request made by Libanius to Demetrius to seek a dream oracle on his behalf, at the same time as he sent the latter copies of the two orations on the god.[46] In the late winter or early spring of 362 AD, Libanius' brother also travelled to Aegae in the hope of receiving an 'oracle' from the god, that is, medical advice normally resulting from incubation.[47]

Libanius himself also visited the Aegae temple during his illness in 367,[48] and one of his letters testifies to its restoration under Julian in 362 AD.[49] Another – Christian – account, by the 12th century Byzantine historian Zonaras, relates the events of that year with a different emphasis that makes the fate of the temple emblematic of Julian's whole reign. The History of Zonaras relates the events of 362 with the following words:[50]

> He (Julian) set his army in motion against the Persians and arrived at Tarsus, a famous city of Cilicia. When he had arrived there, Artemius, the priest of Asclepius, approached him – for in Aegae (this, too, a city of Cilicia) there was a renowned temple of Asclepius – and requested that he restore again to the temple of Asclepius the columns which the archpriest of the people of the Christians had removed and upon which he had built his church. The transgressor straightway commanded that this be done at the bishop's expense. Then, the Hellenes, when they, with much labor and with the greatest cost, had barely taken down one of the columns and moved it with machines as far as the threshold of the door of the church, even after a great length of time were unable to get it outside. They abandoned it and departed. And after Julian had died, the bishop easily righted it again and returned it to its spot.

After Julian's death, Christian local authorities reverted back to methods that had proven more successful than the destruction of cult buildings. At several sites, new Christian saints replaced the old healers either spontaneously or even purposefully, orchestrated by the Church. All the variants of using the former buildings can be observed in these instances: from moving into the existing building, to reusing the older building material and erecting a new church near the temple site.

One of the most striking examples of such a takeover was the incubation cult of Isis (and nearby Serapis) practiced in Egyptian Menouthis, near Alexandria: the initial attempt to ban the cult and convert the temple into a church, proved unsuccessful, and sick people, including Christians, continued to turn to Lady (*Kyra*) Isis for healing, whose ritual was by then relegated to a private house.[51] Therefore, a pair of brand new saints was created and introduced to the people. They were St Kyros/Cyrus and his equally shadowy saintly friend John, both put forward by Cyril of Alexandria (patriarch of Alexandria between 412 and 444) to attract Christians. These saints were invented by Cyril and this is the first time they are mentioned. A shadowy and general life-story was created for them, and eventually the existence of some bones was also indicated to Cyril in a dream. This led to the unearthing of St Kyros – it is hardly surprising that the name recalls that of Lady Isis, Kyra, and took up the extra bones to form the saint's companion, St John, very much modelled after the already widely popular pair of doctor saints, Cosmas and Damian. Initially, as Cyril stated in the sermons he composed for and delivered during the *translation* – the journey of their relics from Alexandria to Menouthis – he intended to do away with the incubation ritual as well. However, the incubation mode of healing was so strongly attached to the cult site that it was soon reinstated, now under the auspices of the Christian

[43] Julian, Against the Galileans, 200B.
[44] Julian, Letter 29.
[45] Libanius, Oration 30. 39: 'And now the people whom their illnesses, that require the hand of Asclepius, attract to Cilicia...'.
[46] Libanius, Letter B 146, and Letters B 147 and 148 also concern the Asclepeion of Aegae.
[47] Libanius, Letters 707-708.
[48] Libanius, Oration 1. 143.
[49] Libanius, Letter 695.
[50] The History of Zonaras, 13, 1-19. (Banchich and Lane, 2009, 174).
[51] Herzog 1939.

doctor-saints. It is significant that Saints Cyrus and John were called into existence solely as the new patron saints of the cult site, and that there is no trace of their legend before this time. They were clearly created for the sole purpose of offering a Christianised version of healing, later returning to the traditional dream-healing for which the place was already long famous.[52]

In the case of Aegae, we are dealing with what can be considered a gradual transmission of cult memory, as Thecla's hagiographer of the mid-5th century still seemed to be aware of the records of the Asclepius temple mentioned by Libanius in his Letters.[53] Thecla's hagiographer did not treat the cult site's pagan past as an inconvenient rival, nor did he dismiss it as godless nonsense. Instead, by including the traditions of Aegae and Thecla's other cultic predecessors in his writings, he managed to turn their pagan background into a positive hinterland, a source of legitimacy and credibility for Thecla's miraculous powers. In this way, Saint Thecla could nicely fit her own cult activity into the long-established cult traditions of Aegae. However, in Christian hagiography, Aegae was not famous for Thecla.

Aegae and Saints Cosmas and Damian

A town of great symbolic significance because of its connection with Asclepius and incubation, Aegae became emblematically attached to the healing brothers Cosmas and Damian, the doctor-saints and incubation healers par excellence.[54] The earliest version of their legend (The *Vita Asiatica*) places them in Syria, in their hometown of Cyrrhus – which also became the place of their peaceful death and burial. In this early version of the legend, they were both healers and miracle workers, but as of yet not martyrs. This soon changed due to a growing hagiographic demand that depicted the saints as martyrs. This new twist in their legend, both narrative and theological, meant the introduction of Aegae to their story: Aegae under the rule of Prefect Lysias during the reign of Diocletian (284-305) became the scene of their martyrdom.[55]

Cosmas and Damian are not the only Christian healer saints who were connected to Aegae. Similar to them is the pair of saints, Zenobius and Zenobia, who were also martyred at Aegae by the same Lysias and were also regarded as siblings and incubation healers.[56] Their legend must have had a great impact on the formation of the Cosmas and Damian martyr legend.[57] It was this version of the Life of Cosmas and Damian (the *Arab Vita*) which appears to be more closely related to the martyr-literature, to which their famous miracles were attached. Asclepius' celebrated cult in Aegae doubtlessly influenced both narratives. And it was from Aegae that the cult of the saints Cosmas and Damian started to spread, to the whole Eastern Mediterranean and Rome.[58]

Yet another holy doctor is linked to Aegae, St Thalelaios,[59] allegedly a physician from Lebanon, who during his lifetime cured the sick using both his medical skills as well as his miraculous powers (very much like Cosmas and Damian in their first legend). Upon his capture in Cilicia he was brought to Governor Theodore of Aegae, where he was beheaded in 284 AD and became numbered as one of the holy *anargyroi*. This epithet in Byzantium was attached to those saints who cure without receiving money, like saint Cosmas and Damian or Cyrus and John.

Conclusion: Re-writing traditions

It is partially true that the early Christian Church felt a natural animosity towards incubation. Incubation was a pagan ritual, and even in its Christianised form it retained many elements that were more characteristic of Greek religion than Christian worship. In spite of this, pagan deities, sites and associations were often given a new narrative role in Christian miracle stories: these provided the background against which the new saints' power grew more visible and which legitimised their role as the new patrons of the site, its function or the thaumaturgic and miracle-working qualities associated with the place.

The example of Aegae shows how a city, long famous for its ritual healing and incubation miracles could enter and become attached to the new Christian saints, who were to replace the healing gods and carry on the Christianised version of temple sleep. Making the city the place of the saints' martyrdom is another clever move: even if we are not dealing with historical persons, healers like Cosmas and Damian or Thecla already had a narrative tradition attached to them, with their places of birth and burial, or places where they were active during their lifetime. In these legends a new element had to be introduced, without deconstructing the already existing elements too much. The place of martyrdom is also often the area where the first memorial building was erected in the saints' honour and from where their cult started to spread.

In the Christian incubation miracle stories the pagan background, challenging the authority of the previous cult

[52] See Sansterre 1991, Takács 1994, Montserrat 1998.
[53] Libanius, Letter 695. 2.
[54] On the different versions of the Lives of Cosmas and Damian see van Esbroeck 1985; the Greek edition of the miracles: Deubner 1907; French translation of the miracles of Thecla, Cosmas and Damian and Cyrus and John: Festugière 1971.
[55] They were among other saints who were reported to suffer martyrdom at Aegae, by the order of Lysias: Sts Claudius, Asterius, Neon, Domnina, and Theonilla. Cf. Acta Sanctorum August 23.
[56] Acta Sanctorum Oct 13, 259-273.
[57] Ludwig Deubner and Ernst Lucius long debated which Vita had had been the model for the other, i. e. the legend of which pair of saints came into being first. Both scholars however were in agreement about the impact of Asclepius. Deubner 1907, 64, Lucius 1904, 260.
[58] Ernst Lucius and Alfred Maury both identified the beginnings of the saints' cult in Aegae. In Asclepius both of them saw the catalyst of incubation healing (Lucius 1908, Maury 1849).
[59] On his cult see Brocker 1976.

figure and the confirmation of the new healer's power were skilfully used by the hagiographers, both to persuade the non-Christian worshippers but also to enrich their stories for their Christian audience. The mention of a famous patient or site in a Christian miracle story could help the relevant miracle survive and spread. In this respect, one should not forget that saints' lives and miracle collections were also entertainment literature.

Instead of downplaying the importance of Greek ritual healing or turning a deaf ear to it, Christian hagiography was able to use the fame and associations attached to a cult place in a manner akin to the reuse of marble slabs from Greek temples for Christian basilicas.

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Lords of Two Lands, Statues of Many Types: Style and Distribution of Royal Statues in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt

Elizabeth Brophy

Ancient Egypt had a distinct sculptural style, which developed over 2000 years to present the Pharaoh typically in hard stone, standing in a frontal position, wearing the attributes of his office (*nemes*, *ureaus*, double crown). When the Macedonians, led by Alexander the Great, took control of Egypt in 332 BC they brought with them the equally distinct style of the Greek world, and with the secession of Egypt into the Roman Empire, the country was opened up to yet another culture. Under the rule of the Ptolemies (305–30 BC) and the Roman emperors (30 BC–639 AD) there existed a number of different styles of artistic design and sculptural representation in Egypt.

The aim of this paper is to identify the different styles of royal sculptural representation that existed in Egypt, and to examine the geographic distribution of these statues throughout the country. I begin by briefly identifying the statue styles and regions that are to be discussed. I then discuss the regional and site-specific trends of each statue style separately. In doing so I consider the following questions, 'where were the different statue styles located', 'why were they located in certain regions/at certain types of sites', and 'how similar was the distribution between the Ptolemaic and Imperial periods (up to the third century AD)'. In order to produce usable results I focus on the material evidence (that is the full statues, statue heads, and inscribed bases) that are identifiably royal and have a context (that is an archaeological find spot or a recoverable provenance). These parameters yield a group of 112 statues.[1]

Fig 1. Serapeum Sphinx (Alexandria, Serapeum; Author)

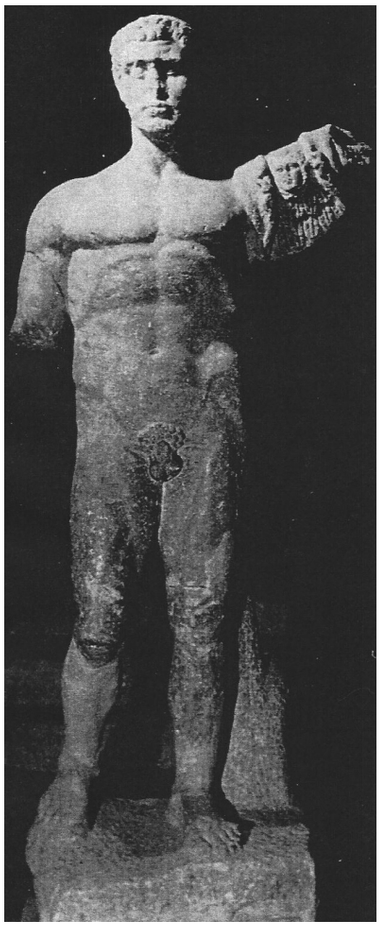


Fig 2. Standing Nude from Aphroditopolis (Cairo, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities JE42891; © Museum of Egyptian Antiquities; Smith 1988, pl.41)

Statue Styles and Regions

The various statue styles that existed in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt have all been identified and discussed in depth by previous scholars, especially Bothmer (1969), Kyrieleis (1975), Bianchi (1988), Smith (1988), and Stanwick (2002). There are five different statue styles discussed in this paper. The first is the Egyptian-style statue, that is the traditional fully Egyptian image (fig 1); the second is the Greek-style statue, following the depiction of the Hellenistic ruler (fig 2); the third is the Roman style statue, the typical classical (i.e. Roman) representation of the emperor (fig 3); and finally the 'mixed' statue, better identified as two separate statues including the Egyptian

[1] The primary publications for these statues are Bothmer 1969; Kyrieleis 1975; Kiss 1984; Smith 1988; Stanwick 2002. The information for statues specified in the main text are in the footnotes, including their resident museum, museum inventory no., and publication details (which provides an image).

Fig 3. Cuirassed Statue of Septimius Severus (Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3608; © Graeco-Roman Museum; Tkcazow 1993, cat no.186)

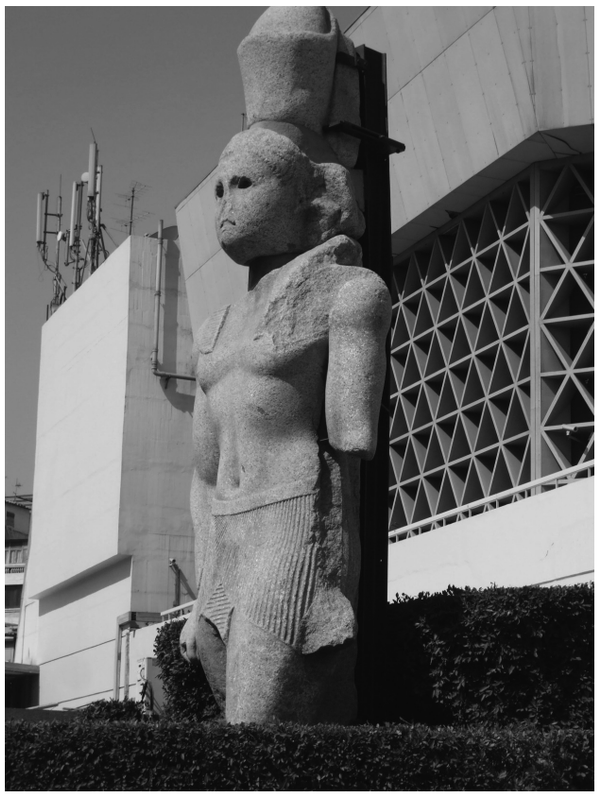


Fig 4. Standing Colossal Ptolemy (Outside the Alexandria Library; Author)

statue with Greek features (fig 4) and the Egyptian statue with Roman features (fig 5). Some scholars, such as Kyrieleis, also identify a sixth statue style, the Greek

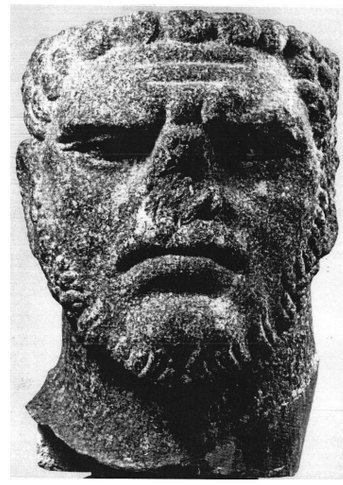


Fig 5. Head of Caracalla from Tanis (Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3233; © Graeco-Roman Museum; Bernand 1998, 166)

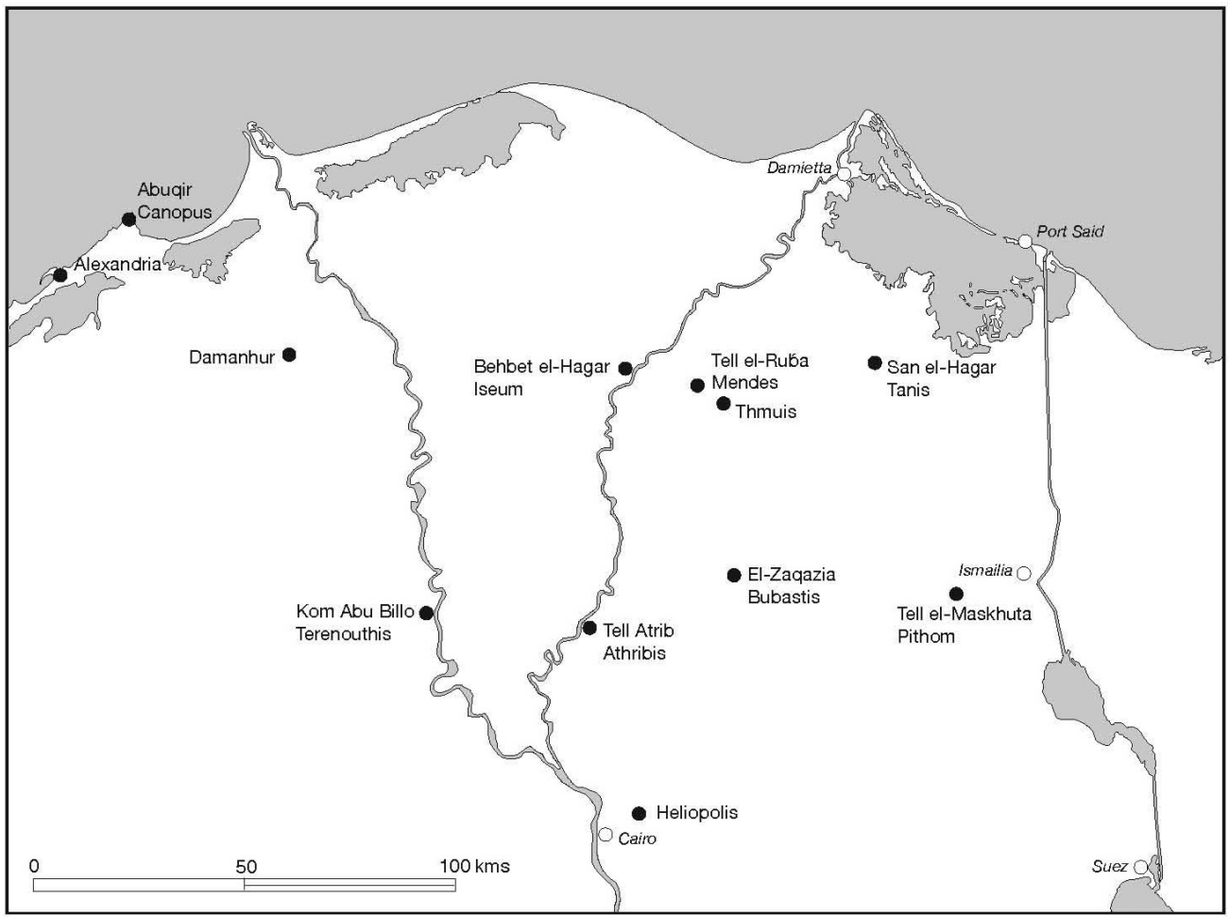
statue with Egyptian features.[2] Following Smith, this statue style cannot be verified in the current evidence for royal representation, rather only the traditional Egyptian statue with inserted Greek features can be identified.[3]

For the purpose of this discussion, I have identified four separate regions in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. The division of Egypt into two areas, Upper (South) and Lower (North), was an ancient one, enshrined in the Pharaonic title 'Lord of Two Lands' and represented in sculpture in the two crowns of Egypt.[4] The exact point at which Lower and Upper Egypt meet is difficult to identify, but for the purposes of this study Lower Egypt is identified as encompassing the Nile Delta down to the sites of Memphis and Saqqara (Map 2), while Upper Egypt includes the area sometimes known as Middle Egypt and follows the Nile down from below Memphis to Philae (Map 3).

There are two other regions identified in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. The first is the Fayoum, a large oasis to the west of Cairo (Map 4). Centred on Lake Moeris, this area was the focus of economic policies in both the Ptolemaic and Roman period, and is remarkable for the amount of archaeological evidence that has been preserved from that time, including papyri, houses, furniture, mummy masks, and sculptural material.[5] The Fayoum was also a centre for immigration, especially for Greek and Roman soldiers, and this appears to have given it a distinct ethnic and cultural mix. The final region identified here encompasses only one site, the city of Alexandria (Map 5). This was founded by Alexander the Great and became the principal city of the country under the Ptolemies. In the Roman period it was called *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, meaning Alexandria by or next to Egypt, implying that in the ancient world it was considered to be set apart from the province. In identifying

[2] Kyrieleis 1975.
[3] Smith 1988, 86-87.
[4] Stanwick 2002, 34.
[5] Wilfong 1999, 308-312; Bagnall & Rathbone 2004, 127.

Map 1. Map of Egypt (Author)



Map 2. Map of Lower Egypt (Author)

these regions, I am following ancient patterns as well as geographical and archaeological evidence.

Egyptian-style statues

The Egyptian-style statue is the traditional representation of the Pharaoh, typically standing with the left leg forward (though they can also be seated or pro-offering), wearing the *nemes*, *shendyt*, *ureaus* and double crown, with a back pillar and a hieroglyphic inscription. Examples of this statue style include the Ptolemaic sphinxes found at the Alexandrian Serapeum (fig 1) and three Ptolemies from the sanctuary of Amun at Tanis; the torso of an early king, a seated statue of an early Ptolemy, and a small standing statue identified as Ptolemy II.[6]

The Egyptian-style royal statue is the most numerous statue style in Egypt, with 48 known examples in this study. The highest proportion comes from Lower Egypt, with 28 statues from that region, while Upper Egypt and Alexandria provide 12 and 10 respectively. The only region where the statue is not present is the Fayoum.

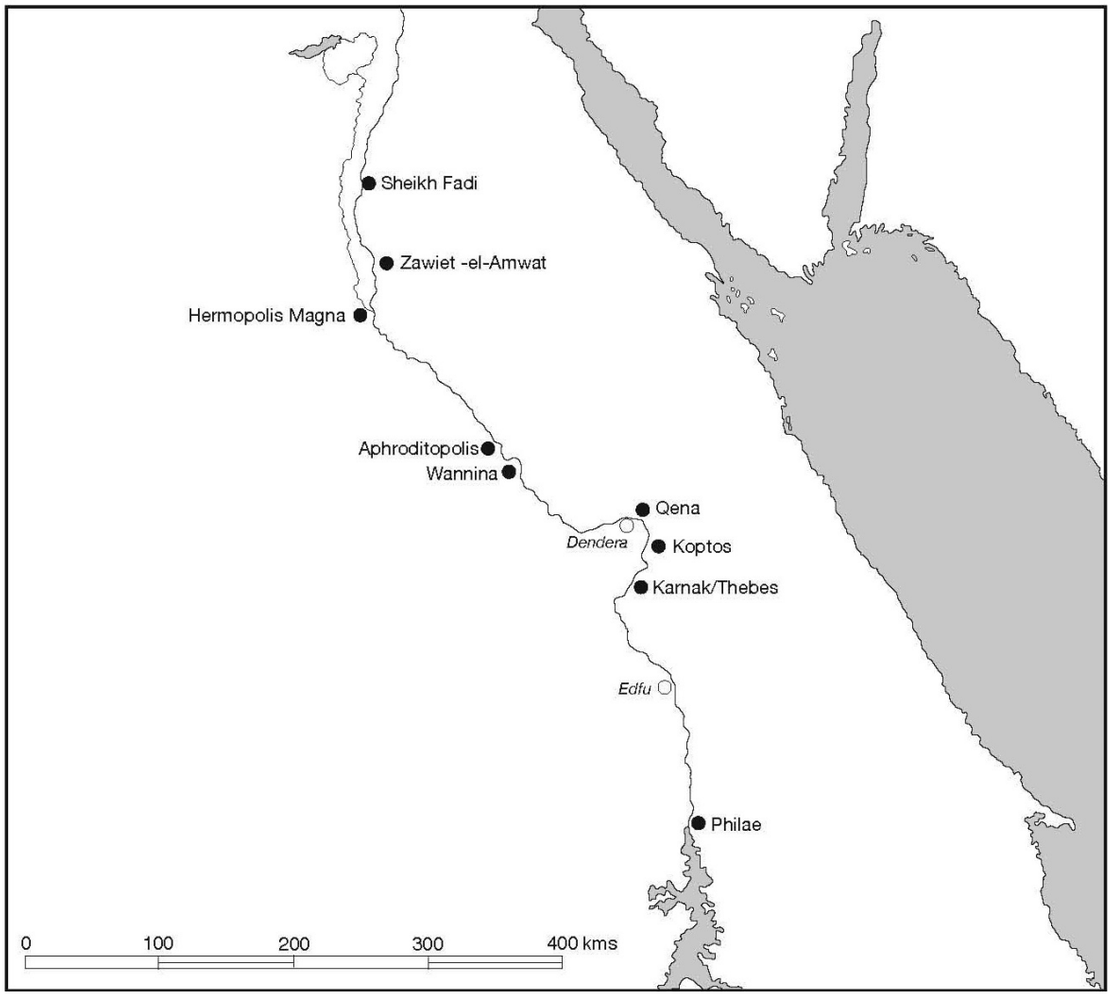
This high occurrence of this statue style can also be identified in the literary sources. The four priestly decrees (Raphia, Memphis, Philae 1, & Philae 2), a series of tri-scriptal (Greek, Hieroglyphs, Demotic) decrees based on synods of Egyptian priests convened by the Ptolemies, refer to the creation of statues of the king and queen in the Egyptian manner that are to be set up in temples throughout the country.[7] These documents point to the widespread and centrally approved dissemination of the Egyptian-style Ptolemaic statue in Egypt.

There is also evidence for the production of Egyptian-style statues on a local level. The inscription of the local official Senoucheri at the temple of Min at Koptos refers to setting up statues of the king and queen (Ptolemy II and an Arsinoe), while the Karnak Decree similarly describes the erection of two statues in black stone of a Ptolemy and Cleopatra by the clergy of the temple of Amun.[8] Taken together with the sculptural evidence, this material emphasizes the large quantity of Egyptian-style statues of the Ptolemies in existence throughout the country.

[6] Sphinx: Alexandria, Serapeum. Stanwick 2002, A33, 16-17, 68. Tanis statues: Torso: Orabi, Zagazig Museum 1411; Stanwick 2002, A35, 25 & 68. Seated King: Orabi, Zagazig Museum 282; Stanwick 2002, A28, 23 & 67. Standing Ptolemy II: London, British Museum EA1190; Stanwick 2002, A9, 55-56.

[7] Raphia Decree: Simpson 1996, 242-257, Demotic L32-34; Memphis: Quirke & Andrews 1988, Greek L38-39, Demotic L22-23, Hieroglyphs L6; Philae 2: Müller 1920, Hieroglyphs L13f-14e, Demotic L11c-11h; Philae 1: Müller 1920, Hieroglyphs L9b-10a, Demotic L9f-10d.

[8] Senoucheri: Petrie 1896, 19-21, L17-21; Karnak Decree: Wagner 1971, 1-38; Bingen 2002, 295-302; Fragments C & D L16-18.



Map 3. Map of Upper Egypt (Author)

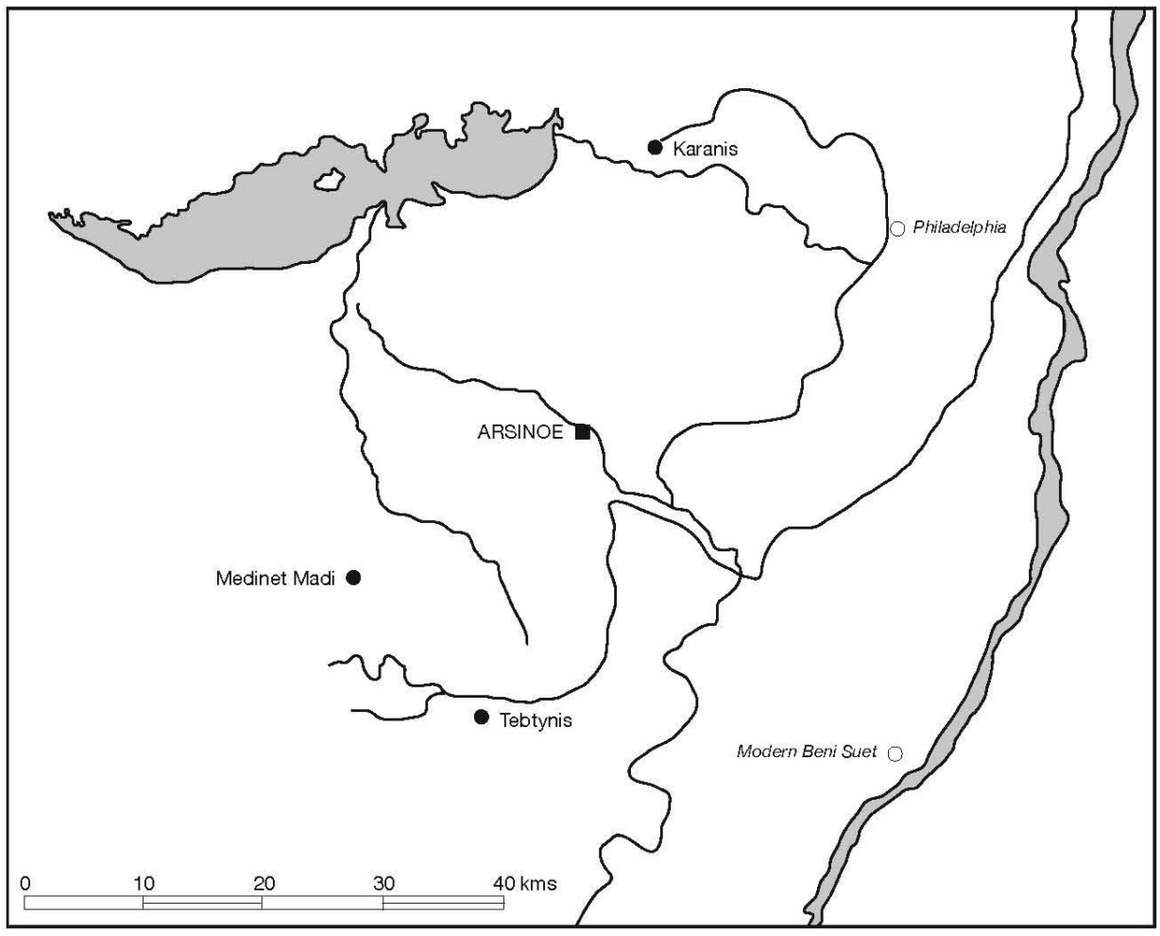
That the Ptolemies were widely represented in an Egyptian style of sculpture is unsurprising. From early on, Ptolemy I promoted a policy of adopting Egyptian imagery and ideology alongside using traditional Hellenistic forms. This is reflected in the Satrap Stele, a hieroglyphic text dedicated in commemoration of the restoration of the rights of the temple at Buto following Ptolemy I's victory over Demetrius Poliorcetes in 312 BC, in which Ptolemy is represented in pharaonic form alongside the gods of Buto.[9] One of the key areas of investment by Ptolemy I and his successors were the Egyptian temples, with some of the best preserved examples coming from Ptolemaic rule, including the temple of Edfu.[10] The temples were also one of the key locations for the placement of royal sculpture, and the Ptolemaic Egyptian-style sculpture can be identified as originating from temple sites, including Tanis, Mendes, Karnak, and Philae.[11]

The large amount of Egyptian-style royal sculpture found in both the archaeological and literary record suggests the adoption of this sculptural style by the Ptolemies as a means of self-representation, as well as its popularity or necessity as a form of representation in Egypt. Interestingly, the literary sources discussed above show that the choice of Egyptian imagery was not the sole province of the king, but royal sculpture in this style was also produced by the Egyptian elite and clergy, thus reflecting the adoption of the Ptolemies into the Egyptian sculptural landscape by the latter.

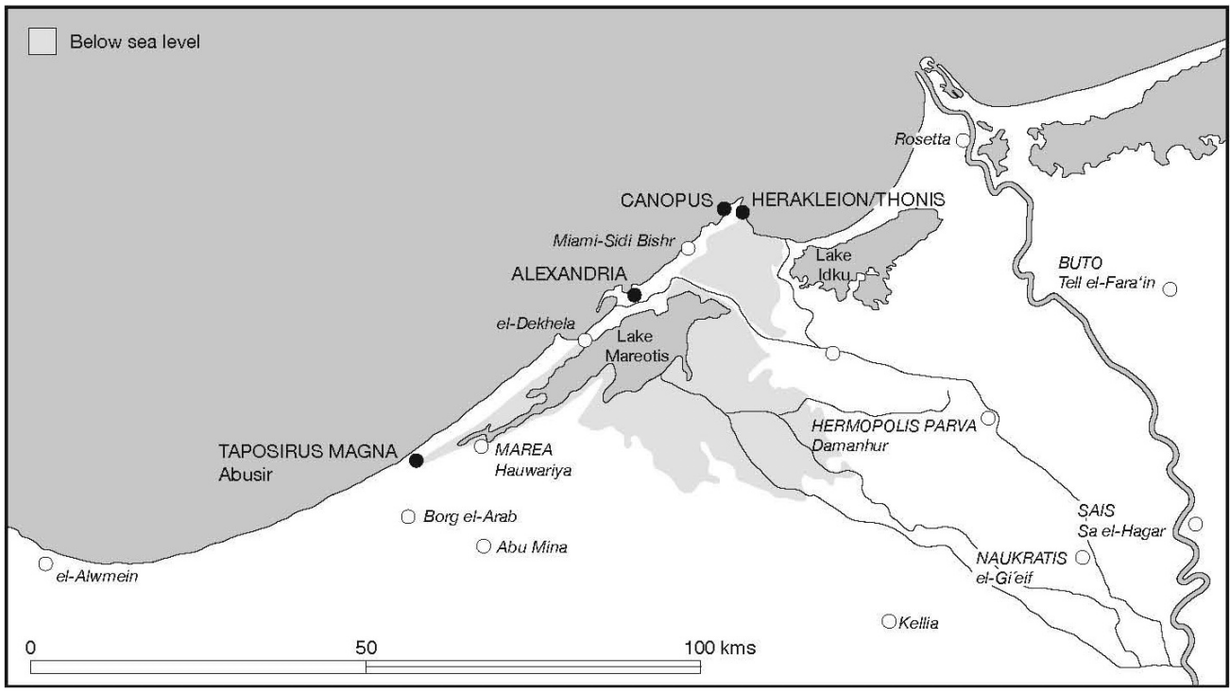
The regional emphasis of the evidence, with a high concentration on Lower Egypt, appears suspicious. Possibly, this emphasis is due to an accident of evidence regarding survival or focus of excavation (the temple sites of Lower Egypt were a major focus of excavation throughout the 19th century). This focus on excavating Egyptian temple sites might explain why there are more Egyptian-style statues with an archaeological context than there are for other styles.

This discussion has only referred to the Ptolemaic sculpture. This is because there is currently no evidence for a fully Pharaonic statue of a Roman emperor, either with a provenance or without. The emperors do not appear to have been represented in this manner. This may indicate the different approach and position of the emperors

[9] Stanwick 2002, 6 & 17.
[10] McKenzie 2007, 120-125.
[11] Arnold 1999, 41-49; Robins 2001, 34-42.



Map 4. Map of Fayoum (Author)



Map 5. Map of Alexandria (Author)

regarding Egypt – they were distant rulers, with the prefect responsible for the day-to-day running of the province, and did not have to adopt and adapt to local traditions in the same way as the Ptolemies.

Greek-style statues

The Greek-style statue is a Ptolemaic royal image that conforms to the classical forms of Hellenistic ruler imagery. Typically made of marble or limestone, it presents the ruler with a turned head, portrait features (in the Ptolemaic case a round fleshy face), and stylised hair.[12] Two examples of this style from Egypt include a standing nude with a chlamys from Aphroditopolis (reminiscent of the Terme Ruler) (fig 2) and the head of Berenike II from Hermopolis Magna.[13] The Ptolemies were not only represented in this manner in Egypt, but also at sites throughout the Greek world, such as in the statues of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II erected on columns at the sanctuary of Olympia.[14]

There are 19 Greek-style statues with an identifiable context in Egypt. The majority of the material comes from Lower Egypt, with 11 examples. The evidence from Lower Egypt, however, is slightly skewed, as five of these statues form a cultic group at the site of Thmuis, meaning that these 11 Greek-style statues only are spread over five sites: Thmuis, Paraitonion, Canopus, Athribis, and Bubastis.[15] The region with the second largest group of Greek-style statues is Alexandria with five examples. It is important to remember that while the region of Lower Egypt might contain more material, due to its size Alexandria contains the highest concentration of all statues.

The question is, why is there a concentration of this statue-style in these areas? As with the Egyptian material and all statue styles discussed here, it is possibly due to an accident of evidence, and there are many examples of Greek-style Ptolemaic heads with no provenance that most likely originate from Egypt.[16]

The Greek-style statue heads of the Ptolemies come predominantly from *metropolis* sites, that is from the major towns of Ptolemaic Egypt, such as Thmuis, Athribis, and Hermopolis Magna. These towns were the administrative centres of the country, and many began to develop Hellenistic institutions such as *gymnasia* and baths, and built Greek temples.[17] The best example of this development is the town of Hermopolis Magna which provides an inscription from a temple erected by the local Greek cavalry for the worship of the *theoi adelphoi* (Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II) and the *theoi euergetai* (Ptolemy III and Berenike II). Only the foundations and a number of blocks remain of the temple, but they point to it being composed of Corinthian and Doric features.[18] The inscription refers to statues being placed in the temple, and it is tempting to associate the Hellenistic style marble head of Berenike II known to come from the town with the temple.[19] The temple, its inscription, and the head of Berenike II are all classical (meaning they adhere to Greek (or Roman) styles, forms, and ideas), and are embedded in Greek ideology concerning creation, design and use.

The Greek-style statues of the Ptolemies appear to have been placed within the classical or Greek environments of Egypt, contexts that were present in the *metropoleis* of the country. They were part of the wider trend of the construction and development of Greek institutions, of which sculpture was an important part, and so reflect the needs and ideas of a specific group (i.e. those constructing and occupying the Greek-style *polis* within Egypt.

Roman-style statues

The Roman-style statue is the third statue category discussed in this study. It is the traditional representation of the emperor found throughout the empire, ranging from colossal images to life-size heads, and showing the emperor in civic, religious, or military dress.[20] Examples from Egypt include a colossal head of Hadrian from the site of Athribis in Lower Egypt, a full length cuirassed Marcus Aurelius from Alexandria, and a standing Severus also from Alexandria (fig 3).[21]

There are 20 known examples of the Roman-style statue in Egypt, with 10 from Upper Egypt and nine from Alexandria. The patterns of distribution for this statue appear to be the opposite from the Ptolemaic Greek-style sculpture, with emphasis placed on Upper Egypt and only one securely identified example in Lower Egypt. There are also a large number of Roman-style statues identified as coming from Egypt but without any clear provenance, including a trio of busts said to be from the Fayoum and representing Augustus, Livia, and Tiberius.[22]

This pattern of distribution may be another example of the surviving material skewing the data set, though in this case the emphasis on Upper Egypt and Alexandria is particularly interesting. Alexandria was the central city of Egypt and the southeast Mediterranean, and there is clear evidence

[12] Smith 1988.
[13] Standing Nude: Cairo, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities JE42891. Smith 1988, no.61, 30, 84, 97, 124. Head of Berenike II: Mariemont Museum B.264. Kyrieleis 1975, K5, 99-100.
[14] Hoepfner 1971.

[15] Edgar 1909, 1-13; Lembke 2000; Thmuis Statues: Cairo, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, JE39520, JE3922; JE39516; JE39525; JE39519.

[16] Examples of Ptolemaic heads without a provenance: Kyrieleis 1975, B6, 167; C3, 168; L9, 183; Smith 1988, cat no.46-50, 164-165.

[17] McKenzie 2007, 151-154.

[18] Bernand 1999, no.1; Alston 2002, 238-242; Bagnall & Rathbone 2004, 162-167; McKenzie 2007, 56-58.
[19] Mariemont Museum B.264. Kyrieleis 1975, K5, 99-100.

[20] Price 1986, 177-179; Fejfer 2008.
[21] Hadrian: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 20335. Kiss 1984, 58. Marcus Aurelius: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3250. Savvopoulos & Bianchi 2012, no.5. Severus: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3608. Tkaczow 1993, no.186, 254.
[22] Fayoum Busts: Copenhagen, NY Carlsberg Glyptothek Augustus – 1443; Livia – 1444; Tiberius – 1445; Rose 1997, no.129, 188-189.

for investment in the city by the imperial government, with Augustus's completion of the Caesarea and the removal of Egyptian artefacts to the city (including Cleopatra's Needles in 12 BC) followed by substantial building in the centre of the city in the second century AD.[23] Upper Egypt, meanwhile, was prone to revolts throughout the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods, underlined by a heavy military presence in Aswan. Nonetheless, Upper Egypt also experienced a construction boom during the second century AD, as evidenced in the towns of Hermopolis Magna and Oxyrhynchus.[24] These two regions of Egypt were places where the emperors, or the imperial government of Egypt, wished to be seen.

Though their pattern of geographic distribution appears to be very different from the Ptolemaic statues, the types of sites the statues occupied are similar. Like the Greek-style Ptolemaic heads, the imperial statues also come from *metropolis* sites, for example the aforementioned head of Hadrian from Athribis or the head of Antoninus Pius from Hermopolis Magna.[25] During the second century AD, such sites saw a high level of investment, with the construction of a number of classical (i.e. typically identified as Greek or Roman in style and form) structures including theatres, temples (especially imperial temples), and *stoai*.[26] The town of Hermopolis Magna is a good example of this. The 'Repairs Papyrus' of the third century AD provides a detailed idea of what buildings existed, including a number that were constructed in the second century, such as a temple to Hadrian.[27] The town was also home to a tetrastylon dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus by a prefect, known through a now-lost inscription, which, in keeping with similar monuments, would have held statues of the emperors.[28]

Though the majority of Roman-style statues are part of *metropolis* contexts, there are some examples that provide a slightly different picture. Outside the temple of Amun at Karnak there is a small imperial shrine, a Corinthian prostyle-in-antis temple with a selection of statue bases located in the cella.[29] Six of these bases have Greek inscriptions identifying statues of Augustus, Claudius, and Titus. A similar imperial temple dedicated by the Prefect of Egypt is also located on the sanctuary island of Philae, and a classical shrine to Serapis with a Greek-style Isis is also found on the *dromos* of the temple of Luxor.[30] These are classical buildings with classical imagery, but they are located outside ancient Egyptian temples. Their presence alongside these sites emphasises the idea that the emperors were not absorbed into the Egyptian temple or artistic tradition in the same way as the Ptolemies, and demonstrates the existence of an alternative form of representation of, and communication with, the Roman rulers in Egypt.

Egyptian statues with Greek features

Often incorrectly identified as 'mixed' statues, the Egyptian statues with Greek features are representations of the Ptolemies in a traditional pharaonic statue with classical elements incorporated, usually confined to the head, consisting of Greek-style portrait features and hair, seen in the colossal second-century statue from the Alexandrian Harbour (fig 4) and the statue of Ptolemy XII from the temple at Tebtunis in the Fayoum.[31]

There are 18 known examples of this statue style with a provenance, and they are found in every region except Upper Egypt, with seven in Lower Egypt, five in the Fayoum, and six in Alexandria. As with the Greek-style statues, this distribution is somewhat misleading as closer inspection shows that the statues only occupy a handful of sites including Canopus in Lower Egypt, the sites of Medinet Madi and Tebtunis in the Fayoum, and Alexandria.

The majority of these statues (those outside of Alexandria) are located at Egyptian temples, similarly to the purely Egyptian-style statues, thus emphasising the idea as put forward by Smith that these are *Egyptian* statues with *Greek* features.[32] The overall contexts of these statues are more complicated, however, and the Fayoum provides the best evidence for discussion of this.

All the statues found at the temple sites of Medinet Madi and Tebtunis were Egyptian statues with Greek features. They were all found located on the *dromos* of those temples. The statues were thus part of the Egyptian temples, much like the purely Egyptian-style statues, yet in the Fayoum these statues were also surrounded by or embedded within the environs of the towns, which were part of the unique cultural climate of the Fayoum. At Medinet Madi, the Egyptian temple was surrounded by domestic houses and classical-style structures, including a portico.[33] This means that the temple and its statues were associated with an area that contained both Egyptian and Greek material, and the statues were located in a space where they came into contact with both groups of cultural elements.

This concept may hold the key to the distribution of the Egyptian statues with Greek features, namely that they were the products of the unique culture that had developed

[23] McKenzie 2007, 177-178; Tkaczow 1993, 103-136, especially no.49-50, no.81-92.
[24] Bowman 2001, 179-182; McKenzie 2007, 154-160.
[25] Hadrian: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 20335. Kiss 1984, 58; Antoninus Pius: Cairo, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities 41650. Kiss 1984, 61.
[26] Bowman 2001, 179-82; McKenzie 2007, 154-60.
[27] Kiessling 1971, No.10299 (P. Vindob gr 12565); Bailey 1991, 57-59.
[28] Bailey 1991, 29-31; Bernand 1999, no.12, 80-2.
[29] Chevrier 1939, 557; Lauffray 1971, 118-121.
[30] Philae: Dundas 1993, 173-177; McKenzie 2007, 166-168. Luxor: McKenzie 2007, 68.
[31] Smith 1988, 87-89; Colossal Statue: Outside Alexandria Library, Kom el-Dikka 1001, 1999, & 3200. Stanwick 2002, C22, 73-74. Ptolemy XII: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 22979. Stanwick 2002, E3, 23, 60, 79.
[32] Smith 1988, 86-87.
[33] Medinet Madi: Vogliano 1936; Vogliano 1938; Vogliano 1942; Tebtunis: Rondot 1997; Rondot 2004.

Table 1: The distribution of the different categories of royal statue throughout the regions of Egypt

	Egyptian	Greek	Roman	Egyptian with Greek	Egyptian with Roman	Total
Lower Egypt	26	11	1	7	3	48
Fayoum	0	1	0	5	0	6
Upper Egypt	12	2	10	0	4	28
Alexandria	10	5	9	6	0	30
Total	48	19	20	18	7	112

in these areas where Greek and Egyptian ideas existed side-by-side. This meant that the person of the king, together with the artistic culture of the population, was reflected in this particular form of representation that was still at its heart an Egyptian image. The statue of Ptolemy XII from Tebtunis affirms this idea, by showing the use of a traditional Egyptian style statue alongside Greek-style features and a typically Hellenistic *polis* type of dedication.[34]

Egyptian statues with Roman features

Egyptian statues with Roman features are a continuation of the same tradition as the Egyptian statues with Greek features.[35] They represent the Roman emperors in a traditional Egyptian style, incorporating Roman-style facial features.[36] There are only seven provenanced examples of this statue style in Egypt, with three found in Lower Egypt representing Caracalla from Mendes, Tanis (fig 5), and Terenouthis, and four in Upper Egypt, one of Augustus from Karnak, one of a bearded emperor (possibly Hadrian) from Hermopolis Magna, and two of Caracalla from Koptos and Sheikh Fadl.[37]

The Egyptian statues with Roman features are the least numerous statue style under consideration in this study. The reasons for the low frequency are unclear. The statues themselves come from temple sites, suggesting they were part of the same traditions as the Egyptian statues with Greek features, yet they are spread throughout two different regions (Upper and Lower Egypt, opposed to the Ptolemaic focus on Alexandria and the Fayoum).

In the Roman period, it was usual in the provinces for local elite groups to be responsible for erecting statues of the emperor.[38] The statues in Egypt then, are most likely the result of elite Egyptian groups from these sites (or the local area) choosing to represent the emperor in this manner. There is not yet enough information to understand the underlying motivation for this style of representation.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to identify the different statue styles that were in use in the representation of royals in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, and to examine the geographic and site specific context for those statues. It is clear from the statue distribution (as seen in Table 1) that much of the evidence is deeply skewed by the levels of preservation, emphasis in excavation, and lack of information concerning the context of many statues. Despite this it was still possible to identify some overall trends in the geographic distribution and in the sites the different statue styles occupied.

One of the major trends in geographic distribution was the emphasis in Ptolemaic representation in Lower Egypt, and the focus on Egyptian-style Ptolemaic material. There was also a clear difference in emphasis between Roman and Ptolemaic statue placement, which can be interpreted as reflecting the different attitudes and approaches towards governance and representation. There is also the fact that Alexandria is the greatest source for this material, providing more than any other region in many cases. This demonstrates its importance and fame in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, although, results from Alexandria must be treated with caution with regard to the rest of Egypt, as the city has received a disproportionately high level of attention in scholarship, especially through recent excavations.

This discussion has also revealed some specific ties between style and site type in the evidence, with the Greek- and Roman-style material coming from areas with classical constructions (i.e. *metropoleis*), and Egyptian style material from Egyptian temple sites.

It is interesting that the Egyptian statues with Greek and Roman features also formed part of the Egyptian temple,

[34] Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 22979. Stanwick 2002, E3, 23, 60, 79.

[35] For a full in-depth discussion of Egyptian statues with Roman features (including those without a provenance) see Brophy 2014.

[36] Ashton 2010.

[37] Mendes: Cairo, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities CG702. Stanwick 2002, G11, 139; Tanis: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3233. Stanwick 2002, G10, n.32, 139; Koptos: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Art and Archaeology E976. Stanwick 2002, G14.

[38] Fefjer 2008, 420-422.

suggesting they are in essence Egyptian statues into which foreign features have been inserted. However, this is where the similarity between the two statue types ends. While the Egyptian statues with Greek features appear to be from sites that have a high level of Greek and Egyptian material existing side-by-side and interacting, suggesting a specific cultural milieu and an audience for such statues, the Egyptian statues with Roman features are from sites with little evidence of this, and appear rather to be creations by local Egyptian elites, following the pattern of imperial statue creation in the provinces.

The style and distribution of Ptolemaic and Roman royal sculpture in Egypt informs us about cultural, political, and religious tensions – and hybridisations – in Egyptian cities and how changing political allegiances were expressed in urban embellishment.

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The Hellenistic Public Square in Europos in Parapotamia (Dura-Europos, Syria) and Seleucia on the Tigris (Iraq) during Parthian and Roman Times

Gaëlle Coqueugniot

The *agora*, heart of Hellenic city life and a place of meeting and interaction between the inhabitants, was one of the main public spaces of a *polis*. As such it has been much discussed by historians and archaeologists, who focus primarily on ancient inscriptions and monumental architecture. Following Roland Martin's analysis in the 1950s,[1] scholars have recognised various types of *agorai* in the Hellenic world. They have studied the evolution of the *agora* within the city, and in many cases pointed towards a specialisation of the city's public squares, and the appearance of separate places for commercial and political purposes. Paradoxically, while many *agorai* have been identified, excavated and studied in Greece and Asia Minor, the political and commercial city centres of the Hellenistic and Roman East remain poorly known. Most of the research in these settlements has focused on temples, rich housing complexes and the impressive colonnaded streets and public baths of the Imperial and Late Antique periods.[2] In this paper, I focus on two of the few public squares that have been excavated in the Syro-Mesopotamian region: the *agora* of Seleucia on the Tigris, an ancient site located in the suburbs of modern Baghdad, and the *agora* of Europos in Parapotamia,[3] in the middle Euphrates valley.

Seleucia on the Tigris and Europos in Parapotamia

Seleucia on the Tigris and Europos in Parapotamia are two of the best-known Hellenistic sites from the Syro-Mesopotamian region. They were both founded in the last decade of the 4th century BC by or for the first Seleucid ruler, Seleukos I *Nikator*, and present a parallel – though of somewhat unequal importance – history from the Seleucid, Arsacid and Roman rule.

The early history of Seleucia has not been preserved in detail, but we know that the city was founded during the last decade of the 4th century BC in order to replace Babylon as the capital city of the newly founded Seleucid kingdom.[4] Lying about 60 km north of the former Mesopotamian *metropolis*, at the confluence of the Tigris River and the royal canal that linked the former to the Euphrates River, it soon developed into a major commercial node between East and West. After its conquest in the 140s BC, it flourished under the Arsacid Parthians and was considered one of the three largest cities of antiquity after Ptolemaic Alexandria and Rome.[5] Marks of a progressive decline appeared with the development of nearby Ktesiphon as a new royal residence in the 1st century AD, and most significantly in the 3rd century with the Sassanian conquest and foundation of Vir Ardashir (Coche) on the opposite bank of the Tigris River.

Even less is known of Europos' history. Literary references to the settlement are scarce, and its foundation in the last decade of the 4th century BC has been largely inferred from the mention of the general Nikanor as its founder in Isidore of Charax's *Parthian Stations*,[6] and from the attestation of a founder's cult dedicated to Seleukos I *Nikator* in the 2nd century AD.[7] However, recent archaeological results show that if the site was indeed inhabited in the late 4th century BC, it did not become a real city before the middle of the 2nd century BC.[8] The first foundation took the shape of a small *phrourion*, a military station on the road between the two new Seleucid capitals, Seleucia on the Tigris and Antioch on the Orontes. A little over a century later, the settlement expanded on the plateau, with the construction of impressive city walls and its well-known orthogonal plan. Institutions such as the city council, the *boulē*, are not attested until several decades after the Parthian conquest. The real economic and urban development of Hellenistic Europos is therefore dated from the era of Parthian rule over the city, from its conquest in ca. 113 BC to the middle of the 2nd century AD. Additional transformations in the urban landscape occurred in the ninety years of Roman occupation after 165, before its siege by Sassanian armies and subsequent abandonment in the middle of the 3rd century AD.

[1] Martin 1951.

[2] See, for example, Butcher 2003, especially 251-255, Burns 2009 on Syria, and Segal 1997 on Roman Palestine.

[3] In scholarly publications, the site is generally referred to as 'Dura-Europos', a result of the hyphenation of the Greek name for the new foundation — Europos — and of the site's Semitic name commonly used in Parthian and Roman times: Dura. New discoveries on the site and detailed study of the evidence have, however, led the current French-Syrian expedition to change this name to 'Europos-Dura', which seems more accurate with regard to the site's chronological sequence. In this paper, I refer to the site under its official name of *Europos tê en tê Parapotamia*, 'Europos in Parapotamia', as attested in parchments from the 1st century AD (parchments 18 and 19 in Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959, 5-10).

[4] Invernizzi 1993.

[5] Pliny (*Natural Histories*, 6.122).

[6] *Dura Nikanoris polis ktisma Makedonôn hypo de Hellenôn Eurôpos kaleitai*, "Dura, city of Nikanor, foundation of the Macedonians, that the Greeks name Europos" Nikanor was a general from the period of the *Diadochoi* (319-281 BC). There is still debate about whether his allegiance lay with Antigonos *Monophtalmos*, Seleukos I *Nikator*, or Ptolemy I *Sôter* (see Leriche 2003, 177-178 and Kosmin 2011, 96-97).

[7] Rostovtzeff 1938.

[8] Leriche and Coqueugniot 2011; Kosmin 2011.

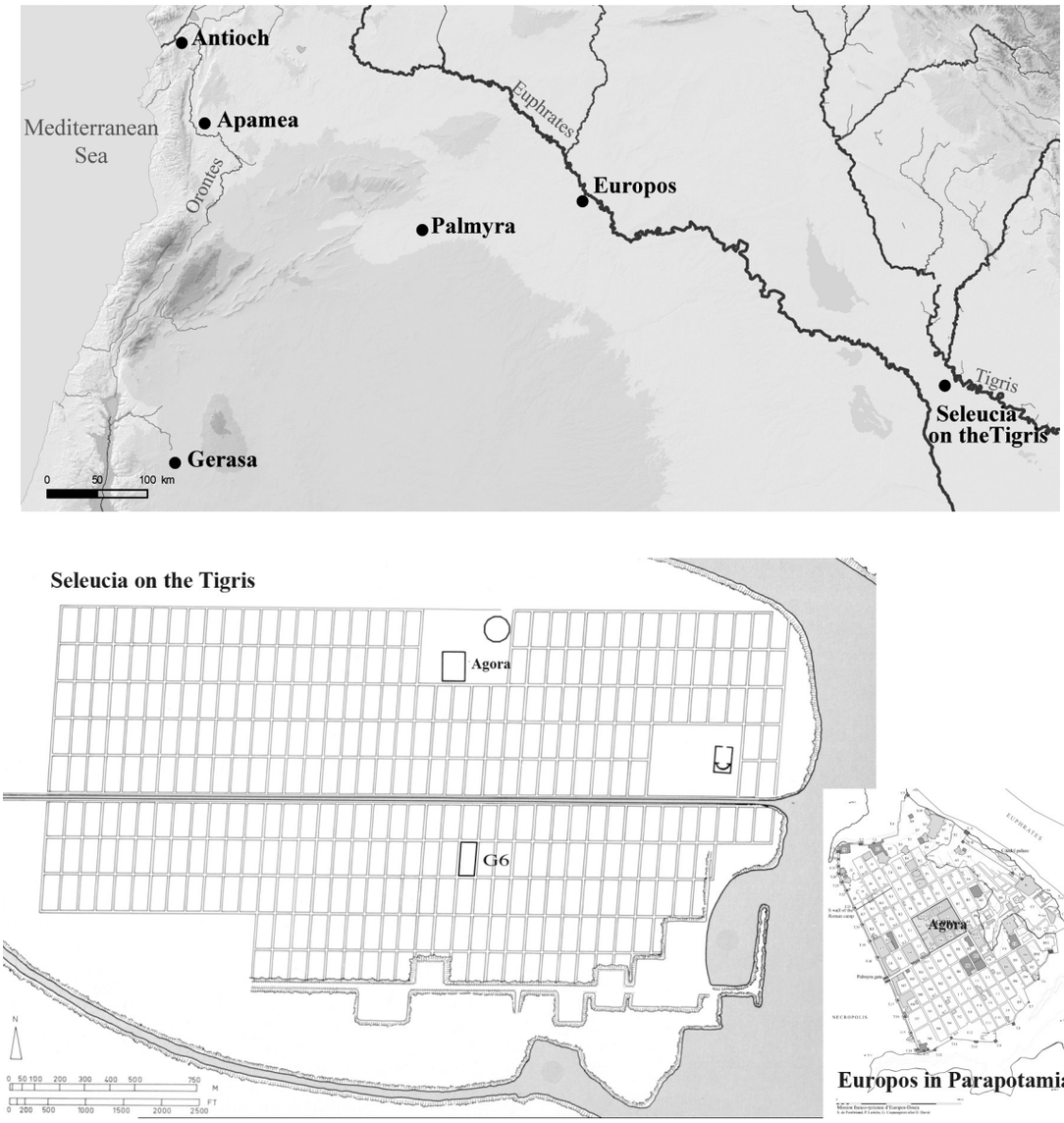

Figure 1: Plans of Seleucia on the Tigris (left) and Europos in Parapotamia (right), to matching scale [Seleucia: after Stierlin 1987; Europos: Mission franco-syrienne d'Europos-Doura]

Both sites were discovered in the 1920s and partly excavated in the following decade, Seleucia by the University of Michigan,[9] and Europos by a joint expedition from Yale University and the French Academy of Letters.[10] A second phase of exploration at both sites dates from a few decades after the Second World War. Excavations at Seleucia were resumed by Italians from the University of Turin in the 1960s,[11] while a Syro-French expedition was launched at Europos in 1986.[12] The successive excavations on both sites brought to light the remains of two settlements with a typically Hellenistic urban plan, with orthogonal streets and regular city blocks (Figure 1). In both places, the architectural remains are primarily built of mudbrick, on a base of gypsum ashlar blocks in Europos and directly on the natural ground in Seleucia. Moreover, while the town planning followed Greek principles, the architecture belongs rather to the Mesopotamian tradition, as best expressed in the shape of the sanctuaries in Europos.

Two important differences between the two settlements are detectable at first glance if using the same scale for the maps of both sites. First, the two sites cannot be compared in terms of their size and their regional importance. Second, the exploration has not been as thorough at Seleucia as it has in the excavated areas of Europos.

Seleucia was not only a political capital of the Seleucid kingdom and a major commercial centre, but also a large

[9] The site, first thought to be that of Mesopotamian Opis, was explored between 1927 and 1937, under the supervision of Leroy Waterman.
[10] Discovered in 1920 by British soldiers, the site was first excavated in 1922 and 1923 by the French army under the scientific supervision of Franz Cumont, and then by a Franco-American team under the supervision of Michael Rostovtzeff between 1928 and 1938.
[11] Excavations took place in the site's *agora* from 1964 to 1976 and from 1985 to 1989, under the supervision of Antonio Invernizzi and Elisabetta Valtz. Preliminary reports were published in the journal *Mesopotamia*.
[12] The exploration is still in progress under the supervision of Pierre Leriche.

metropolis, housing up to 600,000 inhabitants according to Pliny. On the other hand, Europos was and remained throughout its existence a modest administrative centre of much smaller proportions. Of the 550 ha enclosed within Seleucia's city walls, only a few selected areas have been properly explored: housing block G6 in the 1930s, the so-called "south square", and the area immediately adjacent to a large mound already identified by earlier travellers — Tell 'Umar — during the Italian exploration. With only ca. 55 ha within the walls, Europos was a far more mundane regional centre than Seleucia. Its exceptional preservation and — more significantly — its intensive exploration in the 1930s uncovered over a fourth of the inhabited area, giving us a far more comprehensive picture of what a city of the Graeco-Roman East looked like in the 3rd century AD.

The *agora* of Seleucia on the Tigris

The Italian project of the 1960s first focused on the remains of the vast mound of Tell 'Umar, which were presumed to be those of an important Mesopotamian sanctuary. While this hypothesis proved to be erroneous and the excavations of the mound and its surroundings did not yield any religious structures, they brought to light several massive constructions surrounding a vast open space (Figure 2).[13]

The remains under Tell 'Umar itself have been recognised as those of a theatre dating from Hellenistic and Parthian times.[14] This theatre occupied the northern side of a huge open square, the three other sides of which were enclosed with long buildings.

The most impressive of those buildings associated with the square is the suite of rooms in the west side of the square (Figure 3). It was over 140 m long and consisted of two suites of seven rooms each, both linked along a common axis.[15] This plan, while not attested in the Hellenic tradition, finds close parallels in the enclosed *ziggurat-Zingel* plan identified in Babylonian sanctuaries.[16] The discovery, in the north suite and the northern rooms of the south suite, of over 25,000 clay sealings with Seleucid portraits, Greek deities, and official inscriptions or symbols led to the building's identification as the municipal centre of registration and archive for royal taxes such as the salt tax or the tax on the sale of slaves (Figure 4).[17] The Hellenistic building, which can be dated from the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC, was destroyed by fire around 129 BC, a few years after the conquest of the city by the Parthians. It is probable that other documents were recorded and preserved in the building, and that the lack of material in the southern rooms of the block is merely due to the decaying of unstamped *papyri* and parchments, which disappeared without leaving any trace.

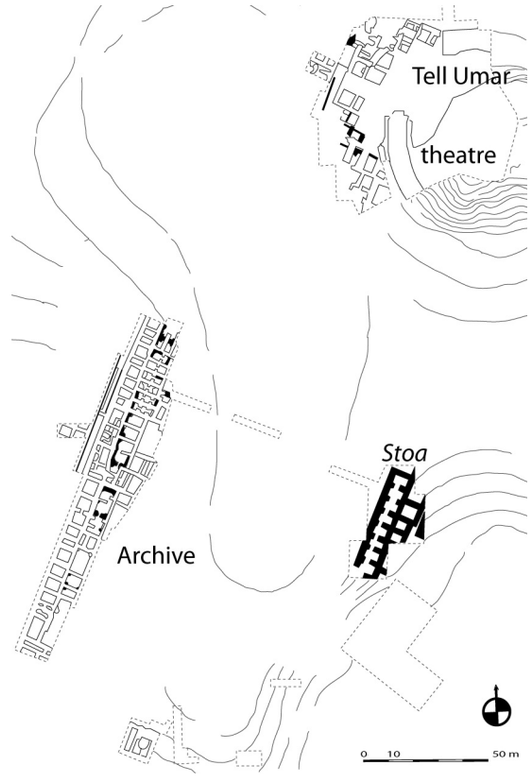

Figure 2: The *agora* of Seleucia in the Tigris [Drawing G.C. after Italian expedition at Seleucia on the Tigris, University of Torino]

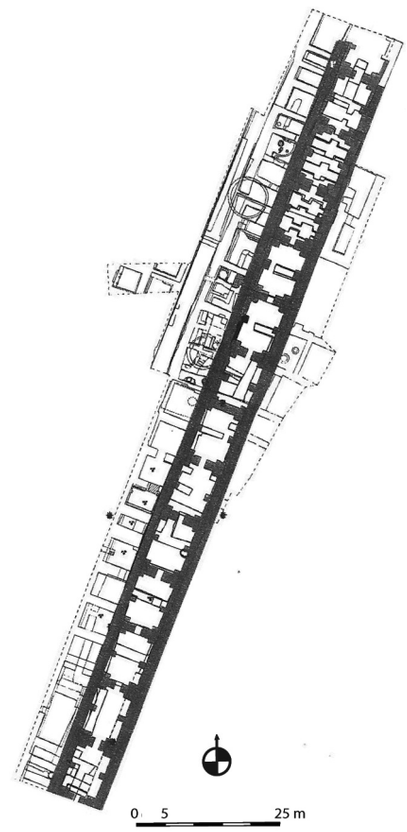

Figure 3: The Hellenistic archive building of Seleucia on the Tigris [courtesy V. Messina, University of Torino]

[13] See note 11.
[14] Messina 2010.
[15] Invernizzi 1996, Messina 2006.
[16] Messina 2006, 63-64.
[17] Bollati, Messina and Mollo 2004.

Figure 4: Sealings found in the archive building of Seleucia on the Tigris [Bollati, Messina and Mollo 2004]

On the eastern side of the square, just opposite the archive building, were the remains of a long *stoa* lined with a sidewalk, possibly of baked brick. Behind this construction, which has only been partially cleared, were several rooms whose function is still debated; it may be possible to recognise some public (or semi-public) banquet rooms here. The associated artefacts include a Hellenistic palm antefix and a lion gargoyle that gave the *stoa* a definite air of 'Greekness', as well as locally made fine ware imitating Greek quality imports .

Finally, a small-scale excavation in the southern part of the square during the 1980s has revealed part of a Hellenistic building. Due to the rise of the water table in modern times, remains in this sector were too scarce and badly deteriorated to permit identification of their original function.

In a later phase, under the Parthian era (from 141 BC), the public square seems to have been surrounded mainly with industrial and commercial buildings, and perhaps some dwellings. A bakery has been unearthed behind the east *stoa*. Terracotta workshops have been identified south of the square, and various industrial and domestic structures replaced the burnt archival office. It is however important to note that the public square seems to have remained empty of all permanent construction.

The *agora* of Europos in Parapotamia

Europos' *agora* has been located in sector G, in the centre of the 2nd century BC settlement, immediately north of Main Street (Figure 5). My work in the sector has mostly focused on two parts of block G3, where the excavators of the 1930s had identified Hellenistic remains (Figure 6):[18] "building A", in the southwest corner of the block, was identified as the *chreophylakion* (registry office) and, in the southeastern corner of the block, room M2 was probably used as a workshop originally belonging to the eastern block of the *agora*, block G1; it was later incorporated into block G3 and connected to the neighbouring rooms to form a larger dwelling ("house M").

[18] I am supervising new work in the *agora* of Europos begun in 2005. First results of this study have been published in Coqueugniot 2012 (a long paper in French that focuses on the *chreophylakion*, "building A" in block G3) and Coqueugniot 2011 (a shorter, English presentation of my work in the *agora*).

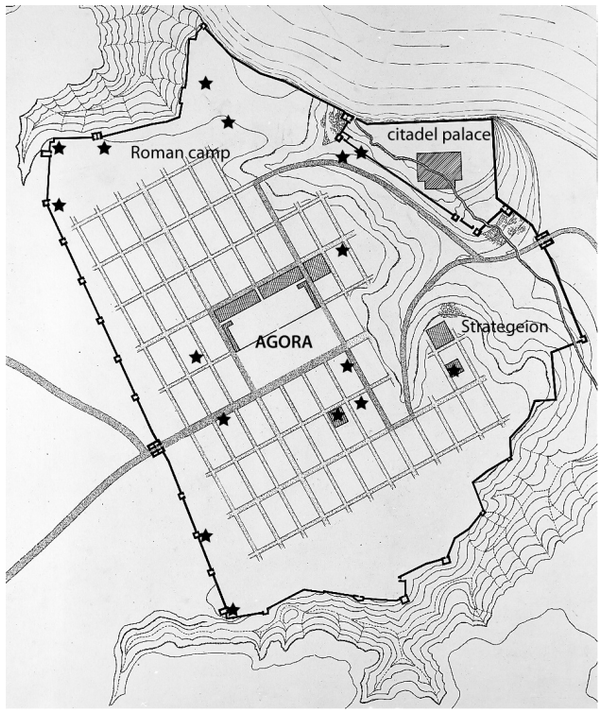

Figure 5: The *agora* of Europos in Parapotamia within the settlement. Sanctuaries are indicated with stars [After Rostovtzeff and Brown 1944, courtesy of the Dura-Europos archive, Yale University Art Gallery]

In the whole block, the chronology is quite difficult to establish, as virtually no stratigraphy is preserved inside the rooms and courtyards and most of the walls were constructed in a shallow trench directly dug in the virgin soil, a packed red substratum of dirt and decomposed limestone from the plateau.

The artefacts found directly in the surface of the virgin soil and along the walls are scarce and consist mostly of small sherds of common ware and storage vessels, which are difficult to date. The oldest datable finds consist of a few sherds of imported Attic black-glaze vessels from the 3rd century BC and fragments of Achaemenid-style vessels similar to those also found in the late 4th century BC stratum from Susa, in Iran. These finds, however, are residual and they cannot be used to date any associated structure in the sector. The exact context of the finds from the 1930s is not known with enough precision to secure their association with one construction or the other, and our own finds all come from disturbed or un-datable contexts: in or near old trenches, in fills under the Roman or Parthian occupation levels, or directly embedded in the rock.

"Building A" was the *chreophylakion* of the city, the office of the *chreophylakes*, who were the magistrates in charge of the drawing, registration, and preservation of the contracts concerning land properties as well as other saleable goods such as slaves. *Chreophylakes* are attested in numerous inscriptions from Seleucid Asia Minor and Anatolia, and in clay sealings found in Hellenistic Mesopotamia, in Orchoi-Uruk, and in Seleucia on the Tigris (in the archive

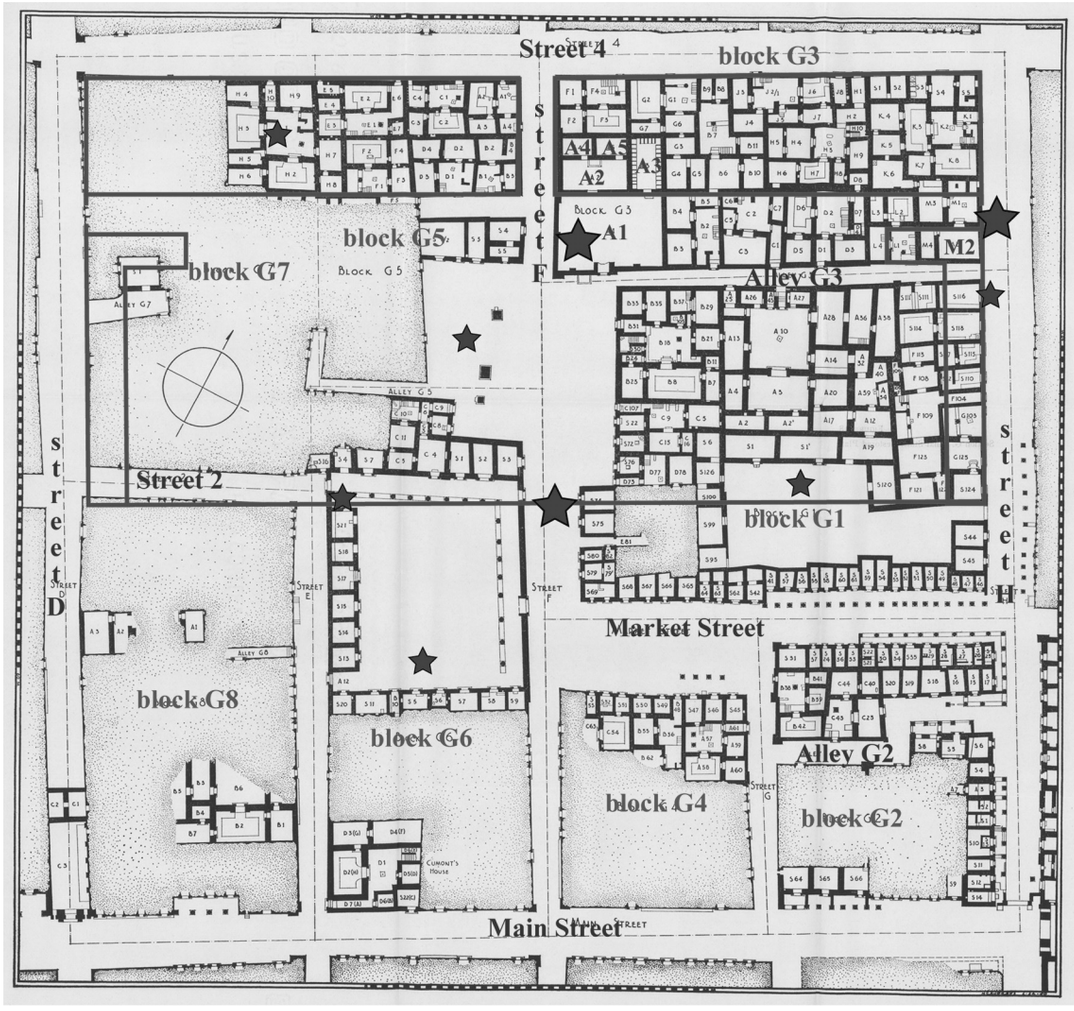

Figure 6: Plan of the *agora* of Europos. Stars identify the sectors where new work has been carried out in 2005-2010 [after Rostovtzeff and Brown 1944, courtesy of the Dura-Europos archive, Yale University Art Gallery]

building described above), where they seem to have been directly associated with the fiscal administration of the Seleucid kingdom. The identification of "building A" as the *chreophylakion* is based on the structures discovered in room A3 of the complex (Figure 7).

The walls were lined with a filing system of pigeonhole niches built in plastered mud-bricks on a low bench. To the left of the niches, *graffiti* indicated the date of the contracts that were filed in each of them. Our choice of this building as a case study was motivated by two factors. First, it was the only building with clear administrative functions that had been identified in the *agora*. Second, this is one of the rare buildings completely excavated at Europos that incorporate architectural features from all the periods throughout the history of the *agora* and the site. Our principal aim when reopening this sector was therefore to clean up the building, study the structures that were still in place — especially the structures in rooms A2 and A3, briefly described by F. E. Brown and visible in old photographs — and to restore, protect and prepare the presentation of the building to visitors. Obviously, after an extremely thorough exploration in the 1930s that dismantled part of the structures and more than fifty years of abandonment, some of the results were somewhat disappointing. For example, in room A3, most of the filing system was completely dismantled by F. E. Brown to see what was below, except in the north-west corner of the room, where the only remains today consist of part of the bench and the lower half of the lower row of niches (Figure 8). My new study proposes, however, to establish a precise chronology of the *agora* and the city's urbanism in light of the new discoveries that have occurred in other parts of the site.

While perfectly integrated into the city's hippodamian scheme, the eight-block *agora* follows a different organisation than the other city blocks. It is indeed this slight irregularity in the urban plan than alerted the 1930s excavators to the importance of the sector.[19]

Many modifications occurred in the layout of the *agora*, from its construction towards the end of the Seleucid

[19] Rostovtzeff and Brown 1944.

Figure 7: The niches in the northwestern corner of the archive room (G3A3) in the *chreophylakeion* of Europos [courtesy of the Dura-Europos archive, Yale University Art Gallery]

Figure 8: Remains of the niches in the northwestern corner of G3A3, Europos, in 2007 [photograph G. Coqueugniot for Mission franco-syrienne d'Europos-Doura]

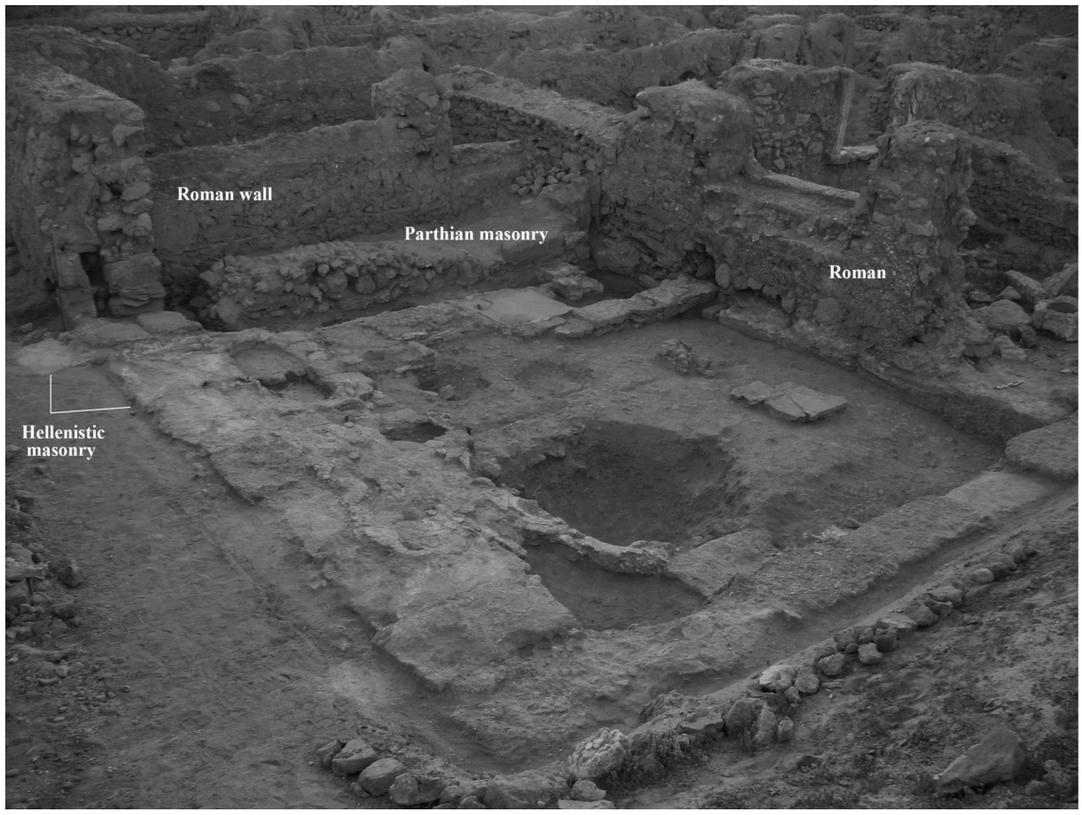

Figure 9: Room G3M2 in the *agora* of Europos, from the southeast [photograph G. Coqueugniot for Mission franco-syrienne d'Europos-Doura]

domination over the city in the late 2nd century BC, through a long period of Parthian domination to the middle of the 2nd century AD, and finally under the Romans from 165 to the site's abandonment in the mid-3rd century. Walls were built on top of one another, using different techniques of construction, which have been associated with different periods of the city's history in the recent excavations carried in other sectors of the site.[20] In several rooms, such as the shop S116 in the northeast corner of block G1, the cleaning of structures that had been uncovered in the 1930s shows a clear succession of phases characterised by the restructuring of the spaces. The original Hellenistic blocks were built up with large regular ashlar blocks of local gypsum with a core of earth, sherds of large storage vessels and red limestone. While there is a lack of any direct datable evidence found in association with the walls in the *agora*, those walls are related by their technique and the module of the blocks to the original expansion of settlement on the plateau, which has been dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC in stratigraphic trenches opened in other sectors of the city. A second phase, dating from the early Parthian period (1st century BC), was built of clay rubble making use of unworked red limestone and reused fragments of gypsum and plaster. Finally, walls from the late Parthian and Roman periods used plaster rubble built in layers around a core of earth and mixed sherds. In the southeast corner of block G3, we can follow the progressive expansion of room M2 to the west, with the remains of three successive walls (Figure 9). From the Hellenistic wall, only part of the first course survives, the gypsum used there has been partly rotted away by the rain and is powdery. A second wall, in clay rubble, lies immediately west of the negative trench of the former; it was later razed to the level of the gypsum threshold. The latest, Roman, wall is still standing about 30 centimetres west of the previous. It is also interesting to note the height of the Roman threshold in G3M2's northern wall, over one meter higher than the brick structures associated with the Hellenistic wall.

Another approach in our study consists of taking a look at the organisation of the *agora* as a whole unit and its evolution through time (Figure 6). About half of the surface of the *agora* has been uncovered, mainly in its eastern part: blocks G3 and G2 were completely excavated, as well as most of G1 and G5 and part of G4 and G6, while blocks G7 and G8 were left almost untouched. Most of the exposed remains belong – as expected – to the last period of occupation of the site, in the 3rd century AD. At this time, the open central square was very limited and irregular, and additional squares lined up with shops had been created in blocks G1 and G6. The area was densely constructed, with intertwined dwellings and industrial buildings that could be accessed by narrow alleys, while the streets did not respect the settlement's regular scheme. This picture is, however, clearly the result of a progressive evolution

[20] For a short presentation of the new discoveries in the site and an overview of the state of our knowledge on Europos' history, see Leriche and Coqueugniot 2011.

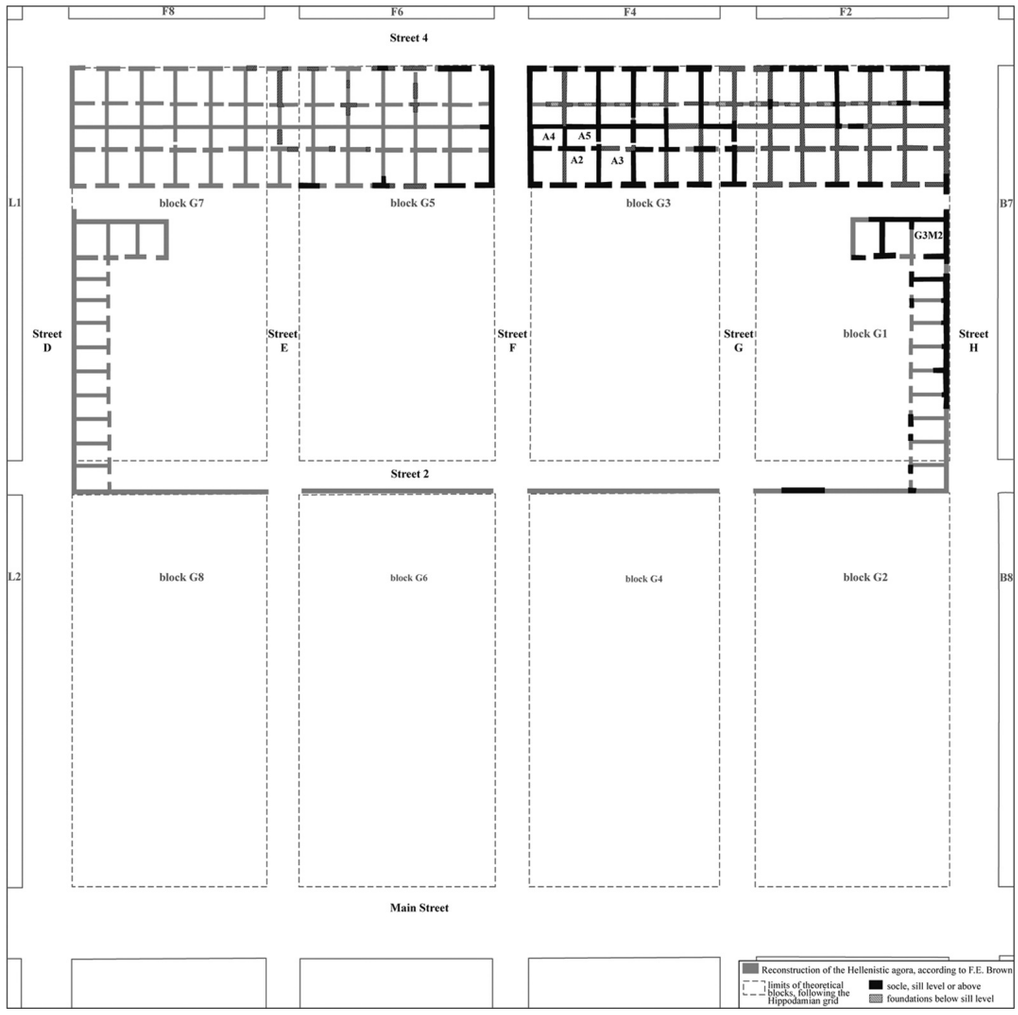

Figure 10: Reconstruction of the Hellenistic *agora* (after various plans and reconstructions, courtesy of the Dura-Europos archive, Yale University Art Gallery)

from a regularly planned open square to an overcrowded city centre where commercial and housing units overtook most of the previously public square.

The reconstruction of the original Hellenistic plan by F.E. Brown is characterised by the division of the space into two sections of equal size (Figure 10). The northern half of the area, where blocks G1, 3, 5 and 7 would later be located, was a large open square enclosed by a back wall in the south and by a single row of shops along the western and eastern sides (respectively blocks G7 and G1). The two blocks in the northern side, blocks G5 and G3, followed a different orientation, perpendicular to the other blocks of the settlement. They were divided by a longitudinal wall and organised according to a regular grid forming two rows of double shops or offices. The southern half of the *agora*, in the location of future blocks G2, 4, 6 and 8, was apparently conceived as a large esplanade free of all permanent construction, a large widening of Main Street in the centre of the settlement, where the traffic arriving from the Palmyrene Gate was diverted either north or south in street H, to descend to the Euphrates valley through the gentle slopes of the interior ravines.

It is not clear how long this two-part *agora* remained in use and kept its prestigious form, with a vast esplanade allowing large gatherings of the population for political, religious, or commercial purposes. The constructions around the northern square expanded into the open space. Block G3 developed to the south, block G1 to the west and south, and block G7 to the east. The circulation axes were moved around to accommodate the new constructions. For example, blocks G1 and G3 were separated by a narrow alley that was moved to the south; in the same manner, street 2 was blocked by the widening of block G1 in the eastern part of the *agora*, and the circulation was diverted to the south in the newly created “Market Street”.

This reorganisation of the space was progressive, with several phases of enlargement identified in blocks G1 and G3, the most thoroughly explored blocks of the sector. For example, in block G3, private constructions began to encroach over the open square in the eastern end of the block, and the last addition to the block seems to have been the large courtyard G3A1, in the southwest corner of the block. This courtyard was built to enclose the space immediately in front of the *chreophylakion*, maybe to

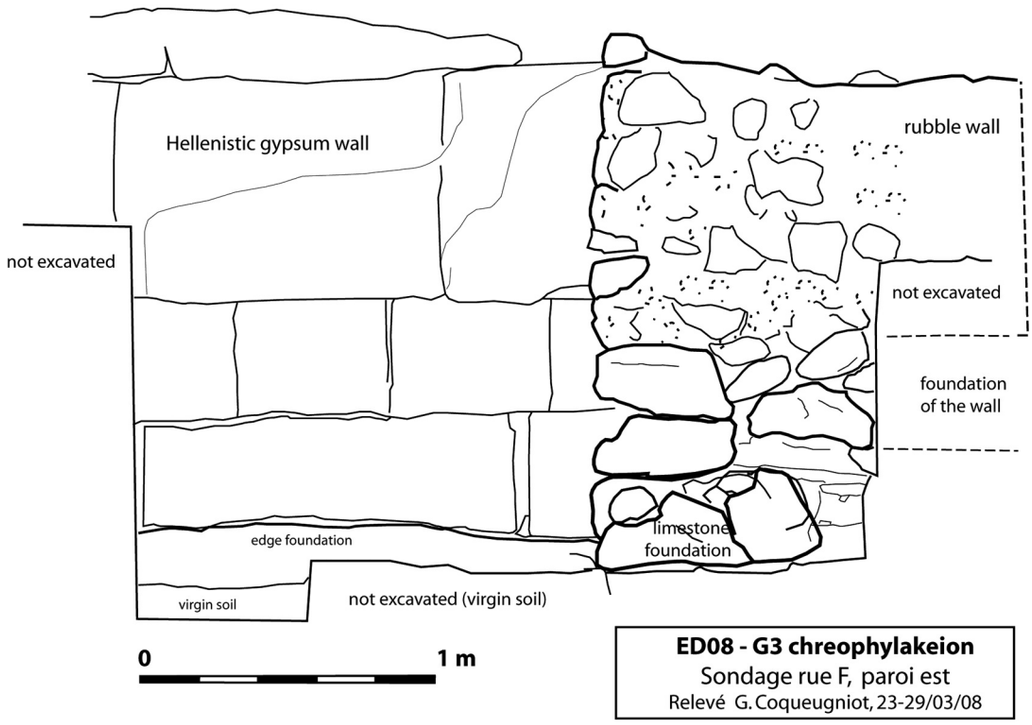

Figure 11: The eastern wall of block G3 in the agora of Europos. Left, the original Hellenistic wall; right, the late Parthian wall of courtyard G3A1 (G. Coqueugniot for Mission franco-syrienne d'Europos-Doura)

ensure this public building remained accessible from the now extremely reduced esplanade. Its surrounding wall was built in mortar rubble on a slightly different orientation than the Hellenistic walls of gypsum ashlar (Figure 11). It was built over an accumulation of 50 to 100 centimetres of ceramic material from the Parthian era (1st century BC and 1st century AD).

In the 3rd century AD, most of the public square had disappeared, and the *agora* of Europos as visitors see it today has often been compared with the modern oriental markets, the *suks*, with their narrow passageways lined up with tiny shops and workshops. We can, however, observe a partial re-appropriation of the public space by the authorities during the last decades of Roman rule over Europos, when several alleys of the agora were adorned with colonnades. This can be linked to the beginning of a process of monumentalisation of the public squares and roads, on the model of the great colonnades of the *metropoleis* of the Roman East such as Palmyra, Apamea and Gerasa. This monumentalisation remained unfinished in Europos, probably due to the rising threat of the Sassanians and then the abandonment of the city around 256.

The *agora* of Europos in Parapotamia seems to have been home to most of the mercantile apparatus of the city, while we observe thus far a striking lack of religious buildings and only one administrative building identified, the *chreophylakion*. The paucity of public buildings around the square can probably be explained by the particular status of Europos; it was not founded as a *polis* but as a *phrourion*, a small fortified settlement controlling the road between Antioch on the Orontes and Seleucia on the Tigris.[21] The political power seems to have long been concentrated in the hands of a few families descended from the Graeco-Macedonian colonists and from Parthian officials. Until the Roman conquest of 165, the city was controlled by military and civil governors, the *Strategos* and the *Epistates*, whose seats of power were located in the citadel and in the *Strategeion*, south of Main Street (Figure 5). In the 3rd century, the power had largely passed to the Roman army, whose camp occupied the northern third of the settlement. In both periods, the *agora*, despite its very central location within the settlement, was only on the margin of the centres of power.

Summary

In Seleucia, the *agora* occupied an area of eight blocks in the northern part of the city. Several monumental buildings opened onto a large open square: a theatre, an archive and administrative building, a *stoa* with public back rooms, other structures of unclear function. The buildings show traces of important modifications, both in their shape and in their function, during the 1st century BC, after the Parthian conquest. Dwellings, shops and workshops replaced the public offices in the south, east and west sides, while the central square remained free of construction.

In Europos, the Hellenistic agora also occupied eight blocks, immediately north of Main Street. It was conceived as a large open space divided into two distinctive parts:

[21] Leriche 2010, 29-30.

an enclosed square lined with shops, workshops and an archival office in the northern half, and a wide esplanade in the southern half. Under the Parthians and Romans, the area was progressively built up, and dwellings and shops took over most of the public square.

Despite the very different scale of those two *agorai*, which should be related to the difference of size of the two cities, and a different treatment of the open central square through time, there are several similarities worth noting when looking at the *agora* of Seleucia on the Tigris and that of Europos in Parapotamia.

In both squares, political activities seem to have been very limited or even lacking. This is clear in the case of Europos, where it may be linked to the particular status of the settlement. While the site of Seleucia has been less thoroughly explored, it seems that we should search for political and administrative buildings typically found in a *polis* in another sector of the site. A few years ago, Winfried Held proposed to locate the centre of decision-making in the *basileia*, "royal quarters", immediately east of the *agora*, but this is a pure supposition based on the largely hypothetical reconstructions of other Hellenistic royal residences such as Babylon and Ptolemaic Alexandria.[22] Maybe we should, however, keep in mind the possible use, in both settlements, of the large unconstructed space in the middle of the *agora*, a space that could be used for various gatherings —political or otherwise— without leaving any archaeological trace.[23] In Seleucia, we can also add to the wide open space of the square the nearby theatre,[24] which may have been used for political meetings.

Both *agorai* are also lacking in religious constructions. Nineteen sanctuaries have been excavated in Europos, none of them in relation to the *agora*. In the remaining square, in front of block G7, two small bases may be identified with altars belonging to the last period of occupation, but they can also be seen as bases for statues. Small portable altars have also been found in several of the houses, but they should be seen as attestations of private piety rather than an indication of an official cult.

The only functions clearly attested in both squares are therefore a mercantile and industrial function, with a concentration of shops and workshops around the esplanade, and an administrative and fiscal function with the archive office. It is indeed quite remarkable that in both cities one of the most prominent buildings is that of the magistrates in charge of fiscal registration: the *chreophylakion* is the only public building identified in the *agora* of Europos, while the largest building in the *agora* of Seleucia was the archive office, which was involved in the salt tax and the registration of sales.

Finally, at both sites, the evolution of the *agora* in the Parthian period is characterised by a growing proportion of commercial and industrial structures, and by the appearance of domestic dwellings in this previously public quarter.

The limited number of excavated *agorai* from Graeco-Roman Syria and Mesopotamia makes it difficult to determine if these characteristics are exclusive to Seleucia on the Tigris and Europos in Parapotamia or if they are representative of a regional pattern in the eastern part of the Seleucid Empire. Further comparisons with lesser known or later *agorai* of Syria and Iraq might define the specific functions, influences and trends adopted in the region's public squares,[25] while comparisons with public squares excavated in neighbouring regions will help to inscribe the development of the Syro-Mesopotamian *agora* into a general history of the public square in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank S. Chandrasekaran, A. Kouremenos, and M. Whiting for the invitation to present this paper in Oxford, and all the attendants of the conference for their enriching discussions and comments. My gratitude is also addressed to the Mission franco-syrienne d'Europos-Doura (director P. Leriche, CNRS-Ecole normale supérieure), and to S. Matheson, M. Doyon and L. Brody in the Dura-Europos archive that have welcomed me in Yale University Art Gallery.

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[22] Held 2002.

[23] Martin 1951. The open space of the *agora* has been used for the gathering of the population since its appearance in the Geometric and Archaic periods (see the *agora* of the Pheacians in Homer, *Odyssey* 6.266). More recently, Dickenson 2011, 49-52 has argued that the use of the central square for political meetings of the citizens is much more recent and should be seen as an influence from the Roman *forum*.

[24] Messina 2010.

[25] Such as the *agora* of Palmyra (Delplace and Denzer-Feydy 2005), that of Apamea on the Orontes (Balty 1981, 69), and the literary attestations from Antioch on the Orontes.

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Development, Change, and Decline of Urban Spaces: Gadara (Jordan) from the 2nd Century BC to the 8th Century AD as demonstrated by the Theatre-Temple-Area

Claudia Bührig

The site of ancient Gadara, together with the modern village Umm Qays, is located in the northwest of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on the border of Syria and Israel. The hilltop of Gadara is the highest point at the edge of a fertile high plateau, the so-called Arḍ al-ʿAlā[1] (Fig. 1). This plateau is delimited by Wādī al-ʿArab in the south, the Yarmūk Valley in the north and the Jordan Valley in the west.

This article focuses on the development, change, and decline of Gadara and its urban spaces from the Hellenistic to Umayyad periods, particularly in the so-called Theatre-Temple Area (Fig. 2, nos. 5–7, 31, 39).[2] This includes, in particular, an analysis of the origins and development of the pre-modern town, the evolution of which was dependent on a variety of natural and social factors such as topography and economic conditions.

The region around Gadara was a favoured area of settlement since prehistoric times. Concrete evidence of prehistoric settlement activity in the mountains and surrounding *wadis* led to a new survey project that began in 2010.[3] The surveyed area is bordered on the north by the Yarmūk Valley, to the east by the modern village of al-Manṣūra, to the south by Wādī al-ʿArab and to the west by a high plateau known as Arḍ al-ʿAlā. There is also evidence of settlements in Wādī al-ʿArab, Wādī az-Zahar and the areas bordering the plateau going back to the Bronze Age,[4] for example the Bronze Age settlement on Tall Zirāʿa.[5] The tell is located in Wādī al-ʿArab, 4.5 km to the southwest of Gadara.

Settlement growth was supported by the favourable natural and topographical conditions of the vicinity, which included several springs, fertile soil and locally available building materials such as basalt, limestone and flint.[6]

The settlement context in the Hellenistic period and its development

The earliest evidence of settlement activity in Gadara dates to the second half of the 3rd century BC and is attested by the archaeological evidence on the southern flank of the hill (Fig. 2). The abundance of common ceramic wares combined with the broad spectrum of imported Egyptian and Greek pottery together with stamped amphorae indicate a small yet flourishing settlement on the hill.[7] By the end of the 3rd century BC, the hill was 'trapped' in the border area between the rival Hellenistic kingdoms of the Seleucids in the north and the Ptolemies in the south.[8] The boundary between the kingdoms was constantly shifting. Therefore, the hill became a strategically important point and an object of frequent conflict.

Around 200 BC, the Seleucids under Antiochus III gained power over Palestine and parts of modern Transjordan.[9] The historian Polybius reports that Antiochus III conquered the 'fortification' of Gadara following a lengthy siege.[10] The term probably indicates the presence of a Ptolemaic fortress at the site. However, no archaeological remains or architectural structures of this period have yet been localised, with the exception of the aforementioned cultural layers. This is not surprising in view of the continuous building activities on the settlement hill well into recent times.[11]

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1 Bührig 2008a, 3–7.

2 The following observations summarise some aspects of the research project "Gadara/Umm Qays – on the urban and cultural development of the ancient city" conducted by the Orient Department of the German Archaeological Institute (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, henceforth DAI), Berlin, in cooperation with the National Museums in Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, henceforth SMB). The key focus of this project is a comprehensive analysis of the settlement's overall development and in particular that of the eastern city area (henceforth Theatre-Temple-Area). Bührig 2011, 267–289; Bührig 2009a, 162–207; Bührig 2009b, 369–376; Bührig and Liesen 2007, 524–526; Bührig 2005, 527–529.

3 The current survey in the hinterland of the ancient city of Gadara, modern Umm Qays, provides new insights into the transformation process of Gadara and especially its hinterland. Work has involved a combination of archaeological and architectural research. The survey, under the direction of the author, was conducted by the Orient Department of the German Archaeological Institute, Berlin, in cooperation with the Archaeological Institute of the University of Hamburg and the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

4 Hanbury-Tenison *et al.* 1984, 385–424, 494–496; Hanbury-Tenison 1984, 230–231; Kerestes et al. 1977-78, 108–135; Lenzen et al. 1985, 151–159; Lenzen and McQuitty 1988, 265–274; Mittmann 1970, 6–132 esp. 26–39; Riedl 1999, 485–487.

5 Dijkstra et al. 2009, esp. 75–77, Table 9,1; Häser/Vieweger 2009, 483–492; Häser/Vieweger 2005, 135–146; Vieweger/Häser 2002, 157−177.

6 Bührig (in press); Bührig 2008a, 43–45.

7 Hoffmann 2000, 180 note 12; See also the unpublished MA thesis by Elke Posselt in Posselt 1999.

8 Kuhnen 1990, 32−36, esp. 34; for Gadara during the Hellenistic period see Weber 2002, 59−64; Hoffmann 2001, 391−397.

9 Polybius Hist. V 71, 3. Mittmann 2006, 26−28; Weber 2002, 60−64 esp. 62.

10 Polybius Hist. V 71, 3. Cf. also Polybius Hist. XVI 39 = Flavius Josephus (Ios. ant. Iud.) XII 136; Weber 2002, 62−63. Signs of a 'siege' raises the question as to whether it was possible to collect and store water in the summit fortress, or, in other words, to construct a reservoir for freshwater.

11 The modern village of Umm Qays on the settlement hill stems from Ottoman times. The rebuilding of the hilltop began around 1900. See Mershen/Knauf 1988, 138–145.

Fig. 1 View from the southeastern edge of the Arḍ al-ʿAlā to the settlement hill of Gadara. (C. Bührig)

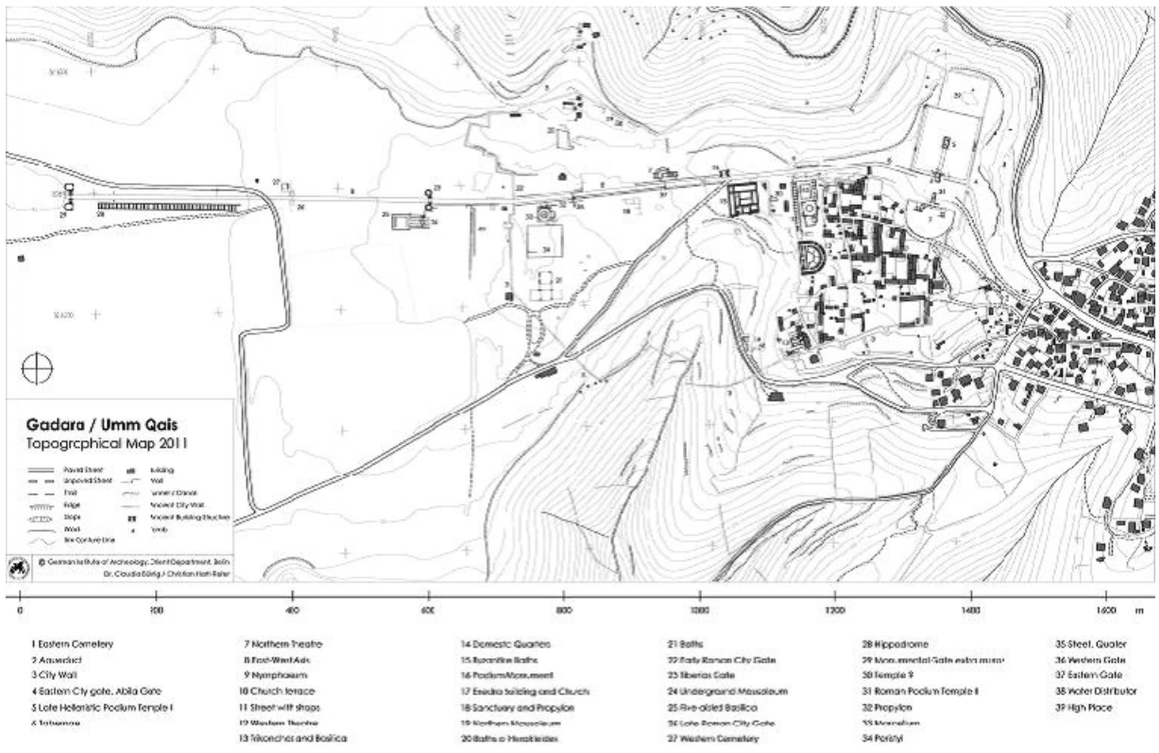

Fig. 2 Gadara/Umm Qays. Topographical map of the site (2011). (C. Bührig – Ch. Hartl-Reiter)

The fortifications that define the appearance of the settlement hill today were most likely erected in 200 BC, presumably upon the initiative of the Seleucid ruler Antiochus III (Fig. 3). From this elevated setting, the new rulers had an unobstructed view over the surrounding valleys: Wādī al-ʿArab to the south (Fig. 1), the Yarmūk Valley to the north and the Jordan Valley to the west.

The Hellenistic fortification wall was constructed in accordance with contemporary defence principles.[12] It has been excavated completely in the south (Fig. 3). The inner plan of the Hellenistic fortress appears to have been

[12] Hoffmann 2000, 175–210, 228–233; Hoffmann 2001, 391–397.

Fig. 3 Southern flank of the settlement hill of Gadara, mapping the dimensions of the Hellenistic fortress. Aerial view to the northeast. (G. Schauerte)

rectangular, taking the topography into consideration. The rectangular plan is indicated by the orientation of the courtyard houses dating from the beginning of the 20th century that today characterise the appearance of the settlement hill.[13] In the south, modern courtyards and house walls overlie the course of the Hellenistic city wall. In the south, an almost regular system of wall sections interspaced with two pentagonal towers can be observed between two sturdy corner towers in the southeast and in the southwest. These pentagonal towers protected the gates (gate I and II, see Fig. 3). A smaller gate flanked by a square tower is located in the northeast. The courses of the eastern and western walls have yet to be fully clarified. However, it is possible to determine the dimensions of the Hellenistic settlement (5 hectares; see Fig. 4) using the archaeological remains.[14]

While little is currently known about the interior structure of the hilltop fortress,[15] there is considerable knowledge about its water supply. This was secured well into Late Hellenistic times through four nearby springs as well as the use of cisterns. Archaeology attests to 75 cisterns on the hill alone, thirty-six of which have been documented.[16] Together, these 36 cisterns comprise an average volume of eighty-nine cubic metres. The presence of these storage structures – regardless of their uncertain dating – demonstrates that the inhabitants of the fortified settlement were quite capable of securing and maintaining a sufficient water supply. Thus equipped, the fortress would have been able to withstand a lengthy siege, a fact which is historically confirmed.[17]

To sum up: the Hellenistic fortress at Gadara was planned in line with the most up-to-date defence techniques and clearly reflects the desire of the Seleucid building contractors to symbolise their 'claim to power' by erecting a landmark in a prominent setting within the landscape. Constructed around 200 BC, the Gadara fortress rose as a towering stronghold on the border between the Ptolemaic Kingdom and the Seleucid Empire. Its position on the highest elevation made the fortress visible from afar (Figs. 1, 3). As such, the fortress was a powerful demonstration by the new rulers of the 2nd century BC, sending a clear signal of Seleucid domination of the region.

[13] See footnote 11.
[14] Hoffmann 2000, 209–210, Figs. 11, 26.
[15] This absence is not surprising in view of the continuous building and superimposed rebuilding that has taken place on the hilltop from antiquity well into modern times (compare footnote 11). An *intervallum* road runs behind the city wall in the Triconchos area (see Fig. 2 no. 13; Fig. 3 – bottom left). This area is being investigated by Günther Schauerte (SMB) as part of the DAI-Project.
[16] The cisterns were documented by Patrick Keilholz (member of the DAI project); Keilholz 2007, 195−228; Bührig 2009a, 184−185.
[17] Flavius Josephus (Ios. ant. Iud. XIII 356) notes that the Hasmonaean Alexander Jannaeus finally succeeded in taking control of the fortress of Gadara in the beginning of the 1st century BC following a siege lasting a good ten months. See also Flavius Josephus (Ios. ant. Iud. XIII 356, 396; Ios. bell. Iud. I 2, 2).

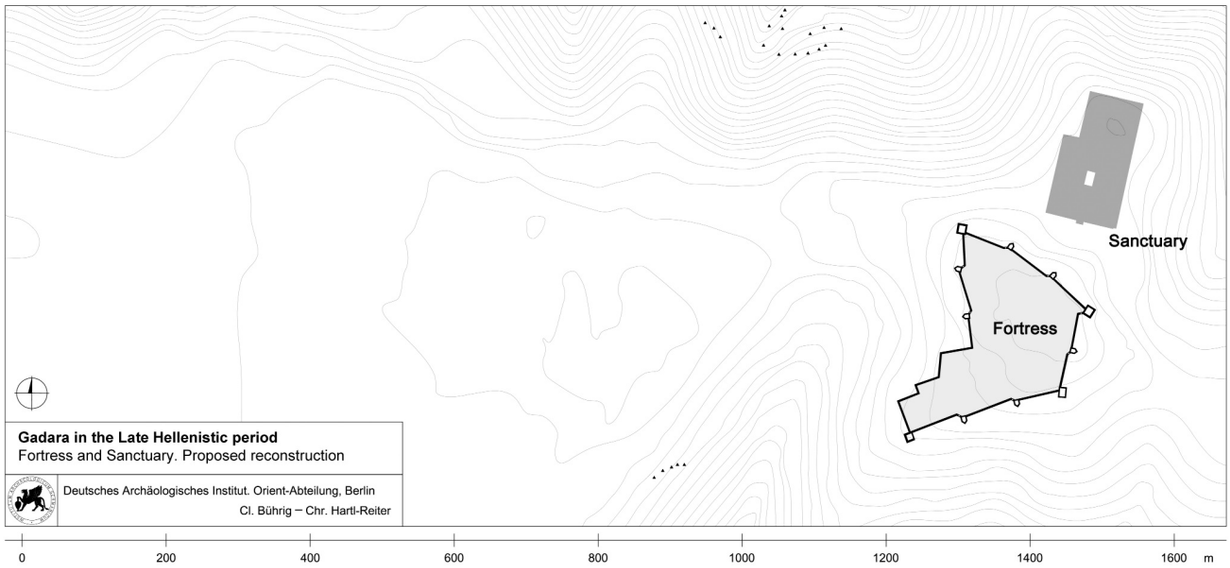

Fig. 4 Gadara in the Late Hellenistic Period (end of the 2nd/beginning of the 1st century BC). Topographical map with a proposed reconstruction showing the dimensions of the Hellenistic fortress and the sanctuary. (C. Bührig – Ch. Hartl-Reiter)

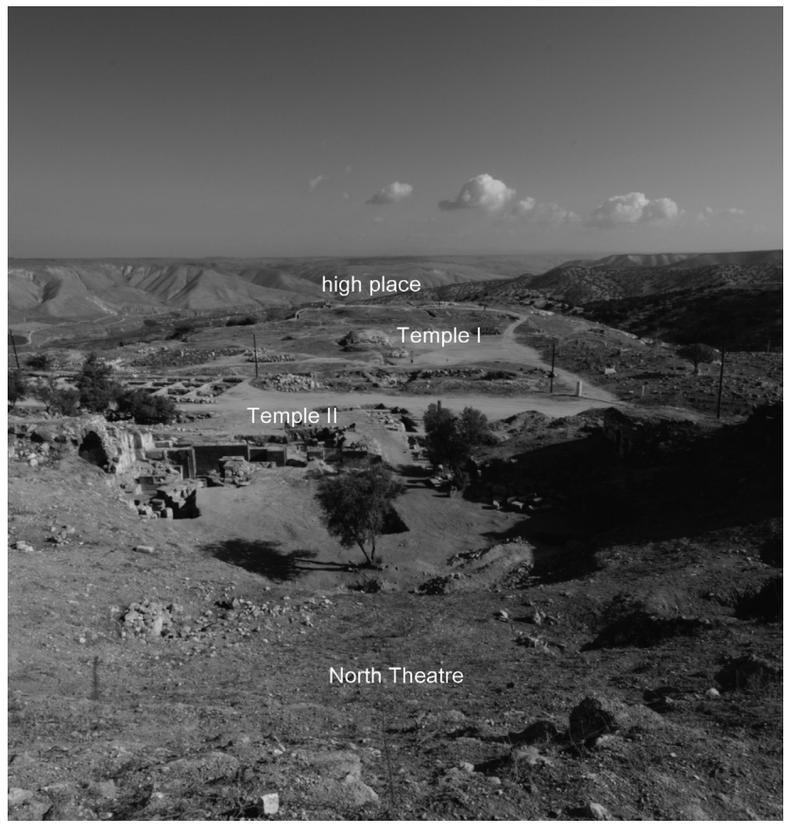

Fig. 5 Theatre-Temple-Area, with the North Theatre and the Temple II in the foreground and Temple I and the so-called 'high place' in the background. View to the north. (C. Bührig)

Development of urban spaces (2nd – 1st century BC)

In addition to the favourable topographical conditions, the presence of an ancient cult place on a terrace to the northeast of the fortress was probably constituent to the formation of an urban space in Gadara. Within a few decades of the fortress' construction, new building activity had commenced on this terrace, in the so-called Theatre-Temple Area (Figs. 4, 5). This marked the initial enlargement of the Hellenistic hilltop community.[18]

A sanctuary, Temple I, was gradually constructed *extra muros* between the first half of the 2nd and the early 1st

[18] Bührig 2009a, 168-171, 186.

century BC on an extensive, artificially levelled rectangular terrace.[19] This Late Hellenistic temple district measured 94.5 x 97 m and was surrounded by enclosure walls and also partially enclosed by terrace walls with a surrounding *cryptoporticus* (a covered corridor, see Fig. 8a).[20] Adjacent to this to the north and at the highest point of the natural terrace was another rectangular courtyard measuring 76 m x 56.5 m with enclosure walls. It is unclear whether this was formerly the site of an older cult area such as a sacred 'high place', perhaps for nature deities.[21] The entrance to Temple I (11.20 m by 19.35 m in size) faced south, towards the settlement hill, and was accessed through Propylon I. Both the Propylon and Temple I were aligned along a single central axis.

There is no specific evidence from this early phase indicating which deity Temple I was dedicated to.[22] However, evidence shows that Zeus Olympios was worshipped here during the Roman period. Considering the significance of Zeus Olympios for the Seleucid rulers Antiochus II and III, it is possible that the sanctuary originated within the framework of Seleucid religious policies in the region. The sanctuary stood as a separate urban space some distance from the fortress (Figs. 4, 5). It would have been visible from afar to visitors approaching Gadara from the east or west. Due to its prominent location, the sacred precinct served as a landmark characterising the ancient 'skyline' of Gadara. The respective setting of the settlement and the sanctuary on different levels led to the construction of an impressive sequence of artificial terraces emphasising the separation of these two distinct urban spaces.

The axial arrangement of Temple I and Propylon I, the large-scale levelling and terracing of the temple district and the integration of an exposed rock promontory all suggest a comprehensive planning concept (Figs. 5 and 8a). This concept was also maintained during later expansion and rebuilding. During the first developmental phase, the alteration of the terrain was limited to the temple district. A lower town evolved in the adjacent open area to the south. Here, the buildings were erected directly on the bedrock at a site of previous quarrying (see Fig. 8a).[23]

Presumably at the beginning of the 1st century BC, the sanctuary and the buildings of the lower town were incorporated into the fortifications as a defensive measure against the campaigns of the Hasmonean ruler Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BC).[24] At that time, the sanctuary and the lower town area had probably already been enclosed within the city walls.[25] A prolonged period of siege ensued,[26] followed by conquest and brief rule under the Nabataeans,[27] from whom the Hasmoneans finally recaptured the city in 84/83 BC.[28] Between these periods of siege and conquest, the inhabitants of Gadara managed to repair the destroyed city wall. An inscription found in front of one of the southern gates[29] and dating to 85/84 BC marks the time when Gadara was granted the title of "polis" and attained self-government. Alexander Jannaeus finally re-conquered Gadara in 84/83 BC and added it to the Hasmonean Empire, but Hasmonean rule would only last for about twenty years.

Over the course of the Roman conquest, Hellenistic cities, including Gadara, Pella, Scythopolis and Hippos, were incorporated into *Provincia Syria* by the Roman commander Pompeius as early as 64/63 BC. These cities did not constitute an official league or political unit, but shared a common bond through their culture, political status and language. They also proclaimed their position as 'cities of the Decapolis' within the *Imperium Romanum*, thus serving as bases of Roman cultural and economic power in the eastern part of the Empire from the early Imperial period onwards.[30] It can be stated that after their incorporation into the Roman *Provincia Syria*, there followed a time of expansion and modernisation of the cities' infrastructure.

Inclusion within *Provincia Syria* was followed by expansion and modernisation of the infrastructure. This included traffic planning and modern water supply systems. By the end of the 1st century BC, one of the east-west-oriented streets had been widened in the Theatre-Temple-Area. Additionally, the earliest sections of the older water tunnel in this area were already in operation by this time, the so-called Qanāt Turāb, which marked the end section of the 22km long-distance water transmission system.[31] In Gadara's urban sectors, the Qanāt Turāb is known as the 'lower tunnel'.

Development and change in urban spaces (1st century AD)

The urban space of the Theatre-Temple Area was transformed at the beginning of the 1st century AD. A new

[19] On the super-imposed structures in this area see Bührig 2009a, 165 notes 8, 10.
[20] Hoffmann 1999, 795−831, esp. 806-807; Hoffmann 2000, 207−209; Weber 2002, 335−337.
[21] A comparable example is the so-called high place in Gerasa. See Seigne 1993, 341–357; Seigne 1997, 993–1004; Riedl 2005, 162–167, 456–457.
[22] On the research discussion see Hoffmann 1999, 813−814; Riedl 2005, 102–112, in particular 108–112. Also see footnote 48 below.
[23] Whether this concerns a dwelling or the remains of a public building cannot be determined until the conclusive assessment is completed; see Bührig 2009a, 170−172, Fig. 12. Other living quarters developed along the western flank of the hill from the 1st century BC onwards; See Kerner 2002, 128-129.
[24] Weber 2002, 64−67; Bührig 2009a, 172−173.
[25] Hoffmann 2000, 207−210 Fig. 26-28; Bührig 2009a, 172−173.
[26] After a ten-month siege, the Hasmonaean Alexander Jannaeus finally succeeded in taking control of the Gadara fortress (see footnote 17).
[27] Ios. ant. Iud. XIII 375; Mittmann 2006, 29; Weber 2002, 64−67, 260.
[28] Ios. ant. Iud. XIII 356, 396; Ios. bell. Iud. I 2, 2; Mittmann 2006, 25–54, esp. 28; Hoffmann 2000, 185.
[29] Wörrle 2000, 267−271 Abb. 1; Mittmann 2006, 25−54, esp. 28−36, 46 Fig. 1.
[30] Wenning 1994, 1–35; Bietenhardt 1977, 220–261.
[31] For recent investigations in the Theatre-Temple Area see Bührig 2009a, 186–193, esp. 186−187. In the 1990s, Susanne Kerner, Hauke Krebs and Dietrich Michaelis carried out investigations of the 'lower tunnel' as well as the city's so-called 'upper tunnel'; see Kerner 2004, 187−202; Kerner 2002, 129−135; Kerner et al. 1997, 265−270.

building, the North Theatre, was erected in the south of this area, opposite the sanctuary (Figs. 5 and 8b) and facing Temple I which lay to the north. The North Theatre was nestled against the slope of the settlement hill and bordered by the city wall to the east. In order to provide access to the theatre directly from the north, construction activity in the lower town was interrupted and the open space in front of the theatre partly levelled. The Roman architects compensated for the uneven terrain towards the north by constructing a terrace wall parallel to the stage building. The resulting four-metre-wide path between the wall and the building enabled controlled access from the theatre forecourt to the theatre itself.

The Theatre-Temple Area was multifunctional, serving political and religious purposes. The relationship between Temple I and the North Theatre was probably both ritual and functional, with the theatre most likely used for cult purposes.[32] It should be noted that both sanctuary and theatre were used in conjunction with the Roman imperial cult.[33]

The observations made above demonstrate that the Theatre-Temple Area was an important urban centre in the east of Gadara. The new North Theatre was a typical example of Roman architecture and culture in Gadara and the eastern provinces as a whole; similar theatres were built, for example, in the 'client-kingdoms' of Caesarea and Petra.[34] In the Roman cities of the new *Provincia Syria*, theatres symbolised the significant civic (and political) contribution made to the city by its citizens. One may speculate whether the impulse for this large-scale construction project came from Pompey, as a show of gratitude to his freedman Demetrios.[35] Evidence for this assumption, however, is still pending, as is any idea of what the possible 'impulse' leading to the construction of the North Theatre might have been.The dating of the North Theatre to the early 1st century AD is only tentative.[36] Its construction may have coincided with the Gadarenes' newly established political orientation towards Rome, from whence their land was now being governed. Furthermore, the new theatre would have served as a political signal in the new province.

In the northwest corner of the stage building was what appears to have been a sampling-point for water (Fig. 8b). This installation formed the new end of the 'water tunnel' (Qanāt Turāb), which could cater to the water needs of the Theatre-Temple Area.[37]

The space between the North Theatre and the precinct of Temple I was a large and open urban space and was intersected by the main street running on the East-West Axis (Fig. 8b). This axis formed part of an important long-distance road, from which the city and the Theatre-Temple Area in particular benefitted. The east-west routes through Gadara formed crucial lines of communication in the early 2nd century AD and during the Antonine reign (138–192 AD), between Bostra – an important caravan junction – and the Mediterranean seaports, for example Caesarea and Ptolemais (Fig. 6).[38] For those travelling from Bostra, Gadara marked a convenient transit stop along the shortest route to the Mediterranean harbours. The city profited from this setting and developed into a trading post with high urban standards.

In the mid-first century AD, the city was enlarged along the aforesaid East-West Axis towards the west (Fig. 2, no. 8) to form the city's so-called western extension; the topographical and geomorphological conditions of Gadara enabled urban extension only to the west. The total urban area now amounted to about 30 hectares (Fig. 7), i.e., five times the area of the Hellenistic hilltop fortress (5 hectares, see Fig. 4). After the mid-first century AD, the entire urban area, including the western extension and the water supply from ʿAin Fakhed, were secured with a new fortification wall (Fig. 7).[39]

City development was interrupted by the first Jewish revolt against the Romans in 66–70/74 AD.[40]

Change in urban spaces (second half of the 1st century AD)

The new defensive wall mentioned above did not prevent the destruction of Temple I during the First Jewish Revolt, but it did change the layout of the Theatre-Temple Area. There is currently no archaeological evidence of the rebuilding of the temple structure,[41] and only the temple podium and foundations underneath appear to have been preserved. The south side of the temenos wall was built over with other

[32] Presumably, theatres also served as places for celebrations, which were held both there and in the sanctuary of the relevant deity; Nielsen 2008, 152–159; See also Hanson 1959; Nielsen 2002. For theatres in the region see Segal 1995. It is recorded that the theatre in Ostia often marked the end point of processions that started at a sanctuary; See Steuernagel 2004, 203–204, 263; Hanson 1959, 90, 95, 99, Fig. 45. It has been proposed that processions in the neighbouring city of Gerasa moved between the sanctuary of Artemis inside the city and the cult theatre of Birketein situated outside the city wall, ca. 1.5 km north of Gerasa. For more on the Artemis sanctuary and the cultic theatre in Birketein in Gerasa, see Segal 1995, 44 with notes 26, 71, Figs. 79−83. See also Seigne 2002, 15-17, Fig. 1 and Nielsen 2002, 247−248 with note 22−23. The Maiumas festival was apparently held in the complex consisting of Birketein and a small theatre, possibly in honour of Artemis-Atargatis, who was worshipped in the inner-city Artemis sanctuary. This is borne out by inscriptions that date to the 2nd/3rd century AD; See McCown 1938, 159−167 (with inscriptions 153, 197, 198, 279); Merklein 1998, 202 with note 64; Riedl 2005, 340–341 with note 1141. On processions see also Freyberger 1998, 113−114.

[33] On the ruler or Imperial cult, see Riedl 2005, 102–112, 144–146; Lichtenberger 2003, 320–321; Freyberger 1998, 115–117.

[34] For Caesarea, see Sperber 1998, 79–85; For Petra, see Hammond 1965.

[35] Flavius Josephus' mention of Gadara's rebuilding by Pompeius allows us to make this assumption: Demetrios came from Gadara. During the Hasmonaean period he was sold as a slave to Rome for unknown reasons. There, once freed, he became one of Pompeius' most trusted attendants. Rumour had it that he financed the construction of the Pompeius Theatre in Rome. Demetrios likewise supported the rebuilding of his hometown. See Flavius Josephus (Ios. ant. Iud. XIV 75; Ios. bell. Iud. I 7, 7).

[36] Bührig 2009a, 173–175.

[37] Bührig 2009a, 187–188.

[38] Bührig/Riedl 2002, 263–272.

[39] Hoffmann 2000, 211–219, 228–233.

[40] Millar 1993, 56−79; Kuhnen 1990, 119−120; Weber 2002, 69−74.

[41] Hoffmann 1999, 806−807.

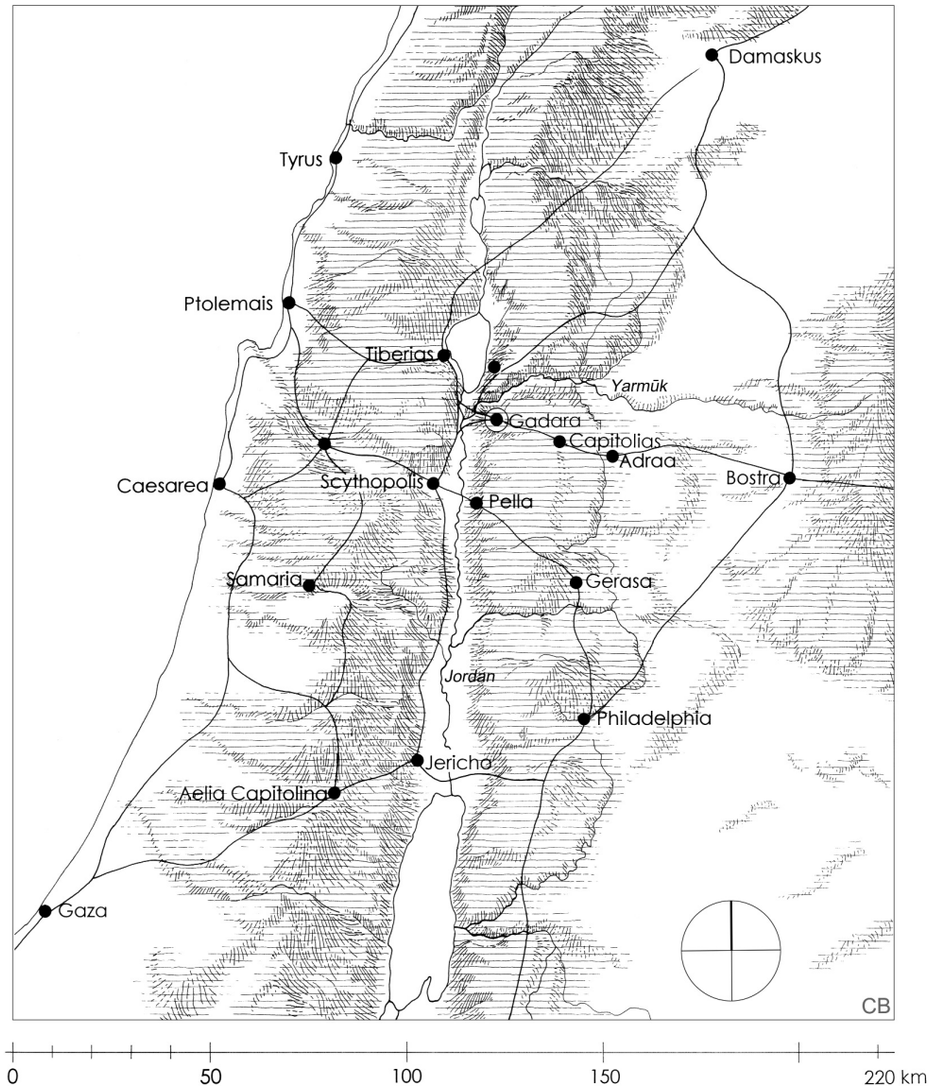

Fig. 6 Gadara as part of the trans-regional traffic network. (C. Bührig)

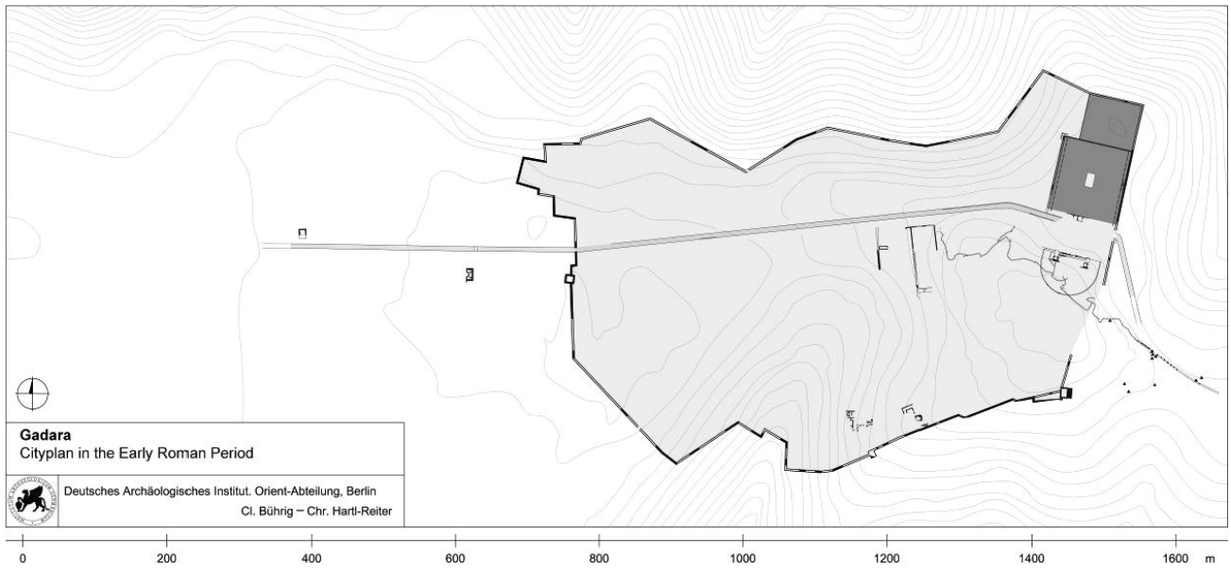

Fig. 7 Gadara in the Early Roman Period (first half of the 1st century AD), with the Early Roman City Wall. Topographical map showing settlement remains. (C. Bührig – Ch. Hartl-Reiter)

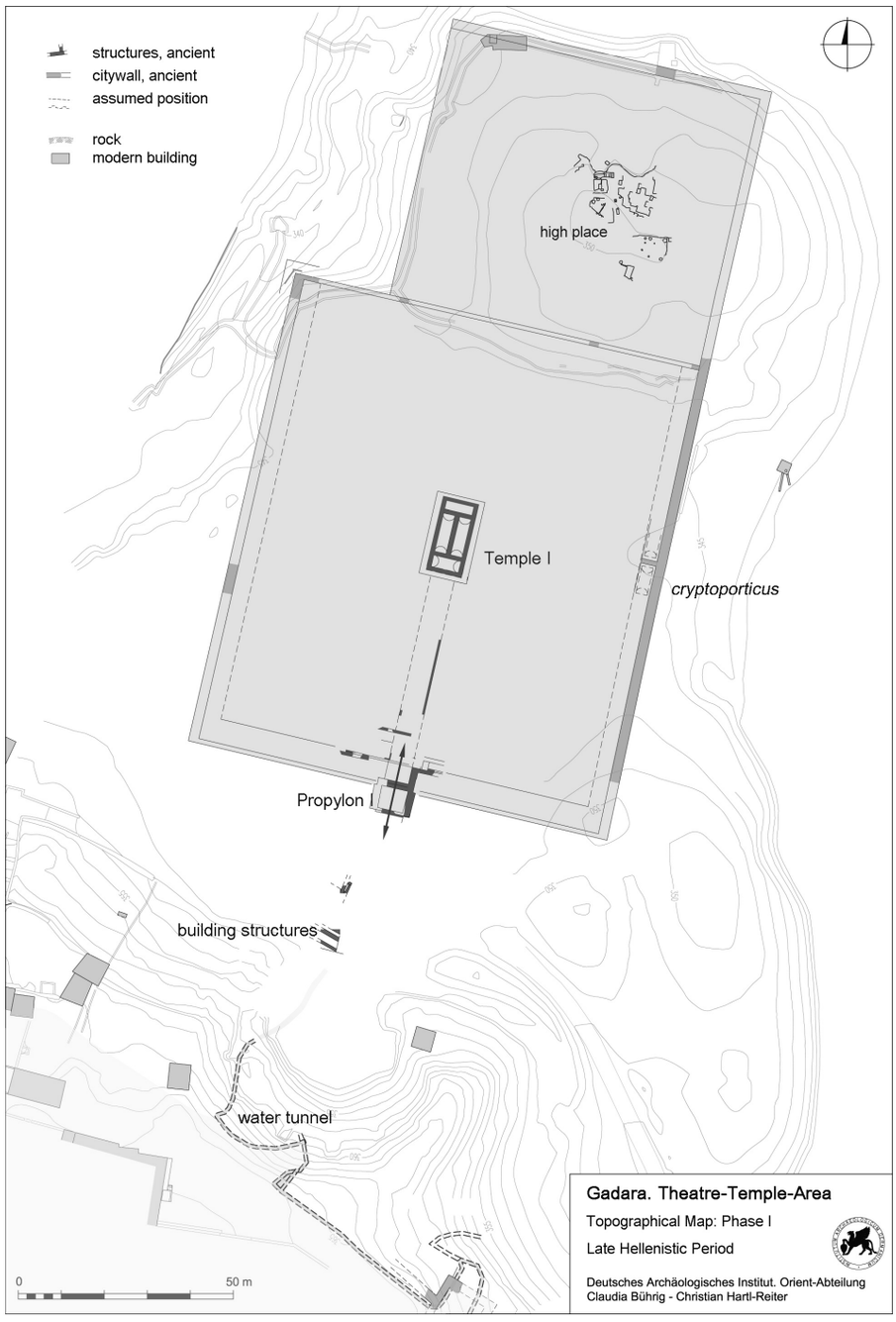

Fig. 8 Theatre-Temple Area. Topographical map with a proposed reconstruction. (C. Bührig – Ch. Hartl-Reiter) a. Late Hellenistic Period (beginning of the 1st century BC). Development, with Temple I.

structures by the end of the 1st century AD.[42] These include chambered structures (*tabernae*) in the northern section of the Theatre-Temple area, parallel to the East-West Axis. These were accentuated with a new propylon, the so-called Propylon II (Fig. 8c). Furthermore, the open space in front of the North Theatre was architecturally transformed into a forecourt, similar to a public square.

The *tabernae* were set up along the East-West Axis together with a passageway leading to the old temple district, and both features defined the square from the north. This arrangement provided orientation along the same axis for the entire urban ensemble of theatre, public square, and Propylon II. This new spatial organisation provided clearer distinction of the functional spaces within this area – sanctuary, forecourt, traffic area (East-West Axis) and North Theatre.

Archaeology indicates that expansion of the Theatre-Temple Area had already been completed and its urban character transformed by the end of the 1st century AD. The East-West Axis represented a twofold lifeline for the new public square: not only did it integrate this space within

[42] Hoffmann 1999, 795−831, esp. 807−809.

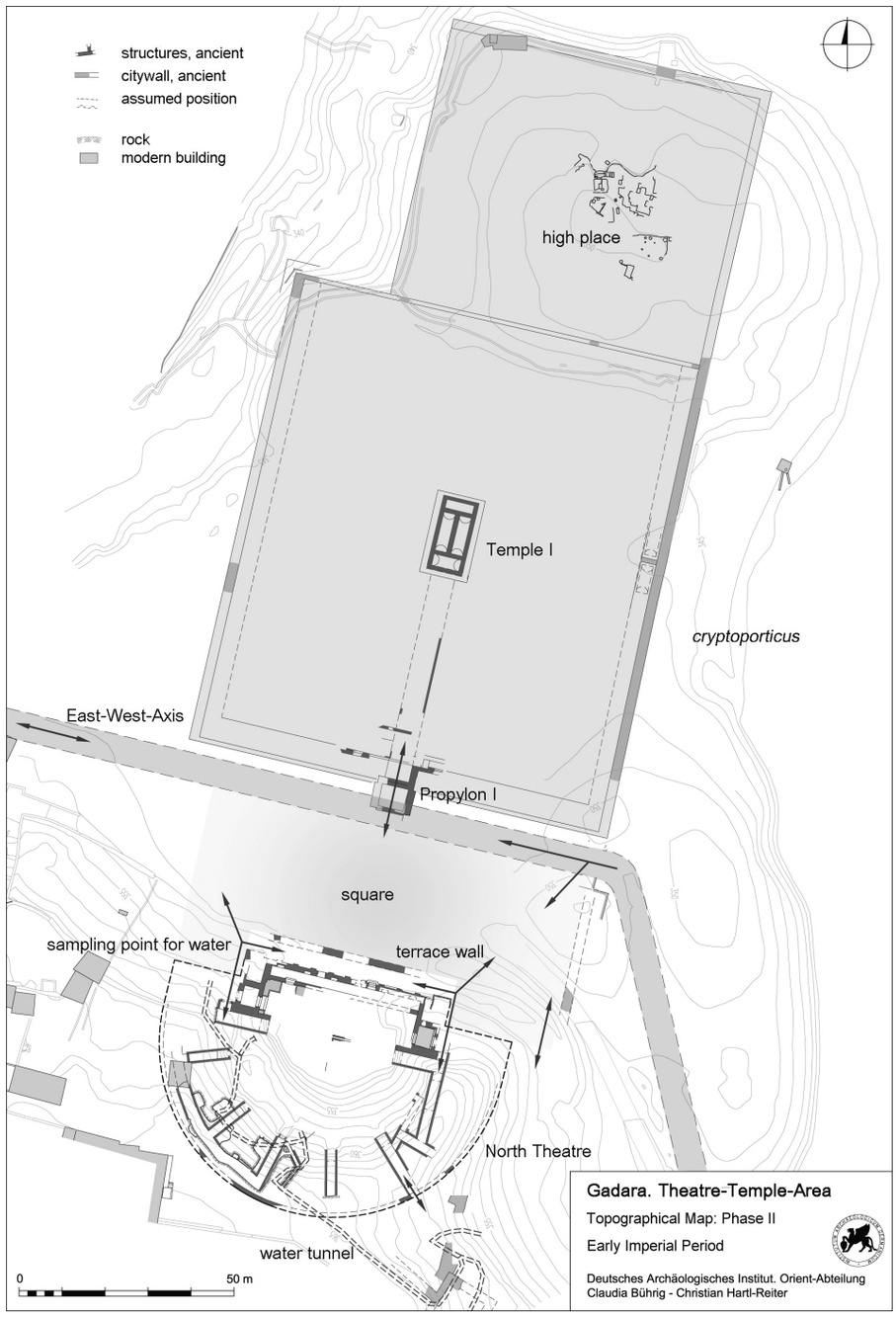

Fig. 8b. Early Imperial Period (early 1st century AD). Development and change, with the North Theatre.

the context of inner-urban operations, but it also tied it into the long-distance road network (Fig. 6; for the position in the city see Fig. 2, no. 8; Fig. 7). Thus, the public square could be used for markets and general commercial activities.[43] At the same time, the commercial aspect of this multifunctional space was clearly distinct from that of the old religious district.[44]

Remarkably, the construction activity in the Theatre-Temple Area took place in the aftermath of the Jewish

[43] Sanctuaries in the eastern provinces were well-visited places and subsequently enjoyed a high status, both economically and socially. Sanctuaries in caravanserais (for example in Gerasa and Dura Europos) were usually situated on monumental public squares. Numerous sanctuaries were exempt from paying taxes, and some were the site of slave and animal markets. The temples' function as economic and trading centres followed in the tradition of Mesopotamian sanctuaries. See Freyberger 1998 esp. 109; for general references on market control, administration or organization, see Sperber 1998, 26–47.

[44] Like the Zeus sanctuary in Gerasa at the 2nd century AD, the position and layout of the sanctuary at Gadara within the Gadara city wall demonstrates a symbiosis of religious and mercantile functions characteristic of 'caravan stations'. Both Gadara's rectangular public square between the North Theatre and the Temple I district and the Oval Forum in Gerasa were flanked by *tabernae*, which contained the shops of the dealers and merchants and offered visitors a safe place for their goods; see also Freyberger 1998, 26–30. 109; Tabaczek 2008, 185–187 in particular 187 Anm. 27.

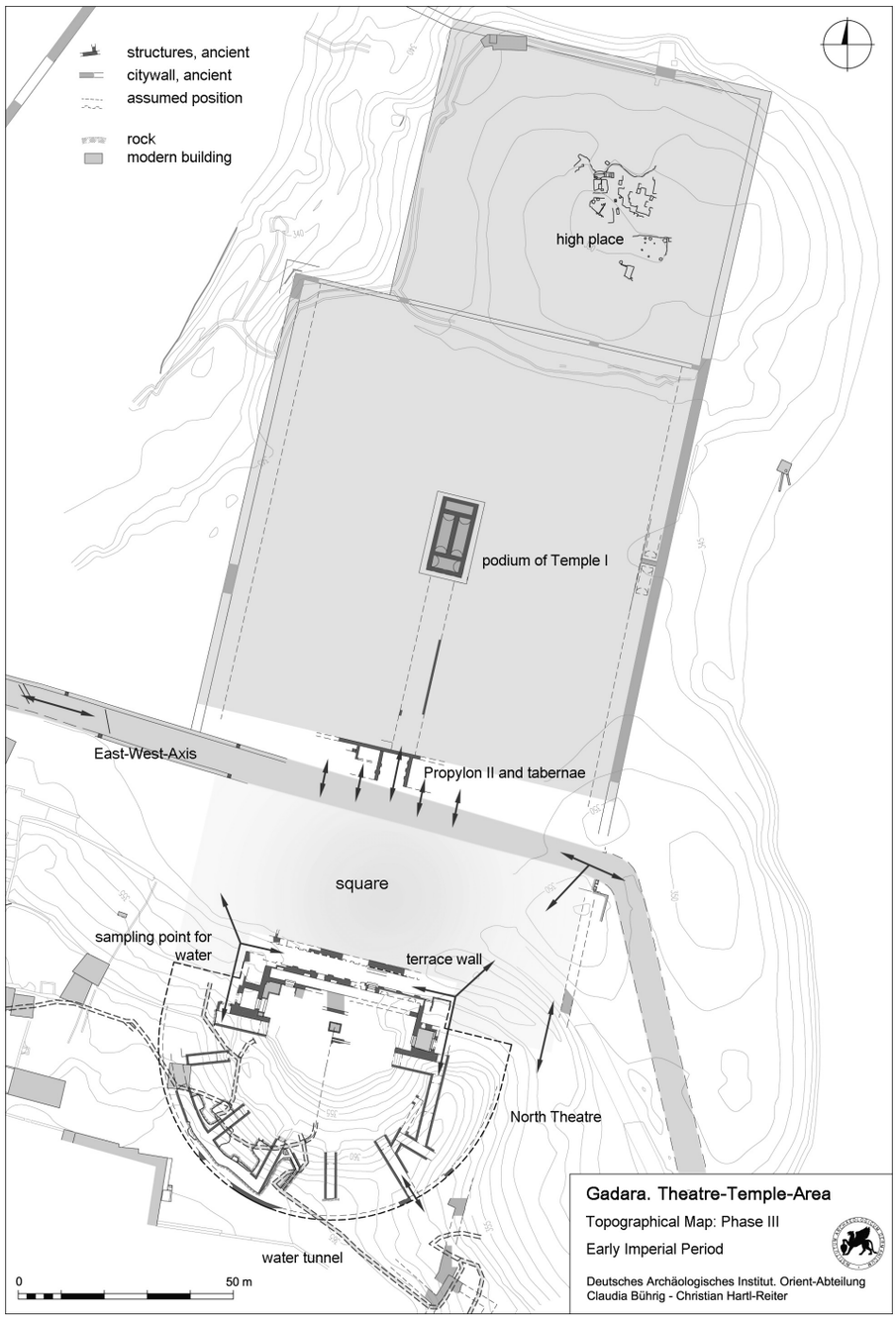

Fig. 8c. Early Imperial Period (second half of the 1st century AD), Change, with Propylon II and tabernae.

revolt, alongside other construction projects within the city to embellish and to upgrade the cityscape. These included the erection of the freestanding Tiberias Gate (Fig. 2, no. 23),[45] a peristyle house at the southwestern fringe of the ancient settlement hill (Fig. 2, no. 13) and the transformation of parts of the East-West Axis into a prestigious colonnaded street (Fig. 2, between nos. 22 and 23).[46] By the end of the 1st century, the early Roman city wall had been torn down, and the new entrance to the city from the west was marked by the Tiberias Gate, which also marked the threshold between the inner and outer city.

Change and expansion of urban spaces (2nd century AD)

The eastern provinces were important to the Empire in military and economic terms. The restructuring of provincial boundaries and the foundation of the *Provincia Arabia* had strengthened the position of the Roman Empire in the east.

[45] Bührig 2008a, 179–182; Weber 2002, 103–108, 326–330.
[46] Bührig 2008a, 182.

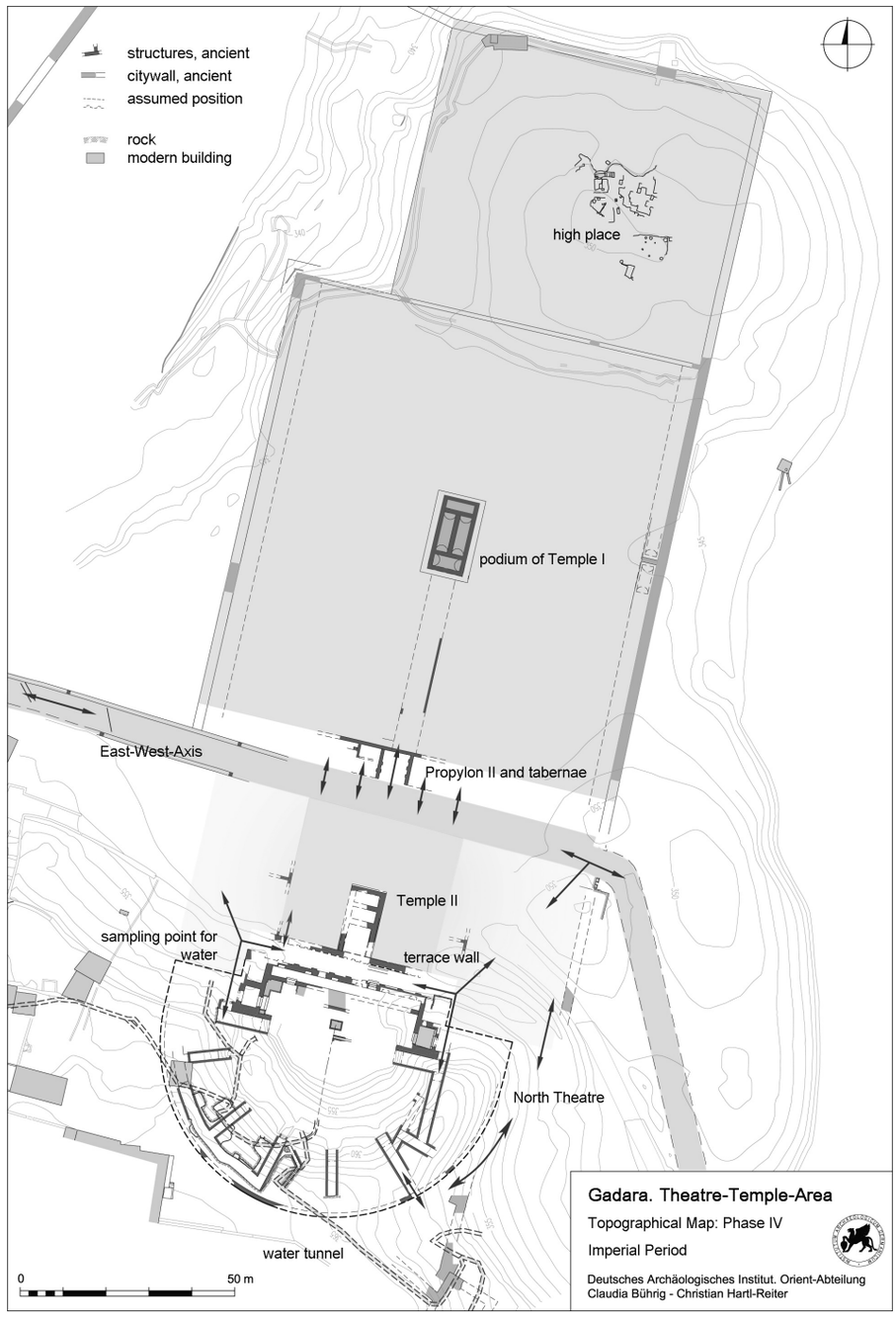

Fig. 8d. Roman Period (early 2nd century AD), Change and expansion, with Temple II.

During the 2nd century AD, Rome promoted intensive urbanisation in the eastern provinces.[47] Like Gerasa, Philadelphia, and Scythopolis, Gadara also benefited from this policy and experienced an economic surge. This is manifested in the city's expansion along the East-West Axis.

Structural change in the 2nd century AD also affected the Theatre-Temple Area in the city's east. A new temple, Temple II, was erected in front of the stage building (Fig. 8d). This second temple was dedicated to Zeus Olympios, as evidenced by coin finds from the city, an inscription from Temple II and a marble statue of Zeus Nikephoros from the temple area (Fig. 9).[48]

Temple II was aligned precisely along the central axis, together with the North Theatre and Propylon II, and oriented towards the old sanctuary. As a working hypothesis, I would like to argue that the podium of the older Temple I was still part of the cult district and probably used as an altar for Temple II. The surrounding square of Temple II

[47] Millar 1993, 99–111.

[48] For the cult of Zeus in Gadara see Riedl 2005, 102–112. See also footnote 22.

Fig. 9 Theatre-Temple-Area. Statue of Zeus Nikephoros; marble, 52.2 cm high. (I. Wagner)

was enclosed by the existing chambered structures (the aforementioned *tabernae*) in the north and the terrace wall in the south. Structural remains also indicate surrounding walls in the east and west of the square. The open space connecting the two temple complexes was bisected by the East-West Axis.

The planning of the Theatre-Temple Area signifies continuity, especially in terms of concepts in urban spatial design. These were not only dependent on topographic conditions, but also on the intended function of the area – at first solely as a sacred precinct and later as a multi-functional space (Fig. 8a–8d). It is noteworthy that all planning concepts referred to the older sacral precinct and integrated it into their layouts. Thus, this older spatial perception continued to be incorporated into the later plans of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.

Characteristics of urban spaces. Gadara's settlement structure in 2nd–3rd century AD

The next point of discussion addresses transformation and change in Gadara's western urban extension.

From the early Imperial period on, the East-West Axis determined the layout of the ancient city of Gadara (Figs. 7, 10). It also dominated the city's traffic network. Due to the topography of the area, the East-West Axis did not run through the city in a straight line, but swerved with slight irregularities in direction. Colonnades were gradually constructed along the axis. They flanked and enclosed the main street, and pedestals for statues and memorial

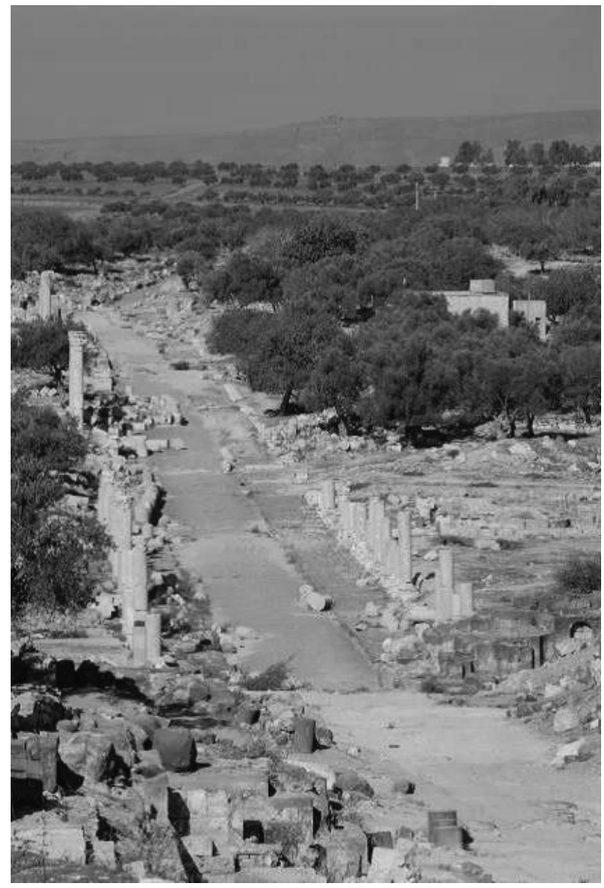

Fig. 10 View along the East-West-Axis to the west, towards the Arḍ al-ʿAlā showing the steps to the Basilica Complex (left) and the Podienmonument (right) in the foreground. (C. Bührig)

monuments were set up between the columns and along the wide raised sidewalk in front of the colonnade.

During the early 3rd century, most of the new public buildings and those already standing were oriented towards the colonnaded street, their monumental façades accentuating the latter's individual urban sections along the East-West Axis. Such monumental structures included the Market Basilica on the northwestern terrace opposite the Nymphaeum, the Podium Monument, an Exedra Building, the Propylon, the Macellum (octagonal building) and two free-standing gates: the Tiberias Gate and the Monumental Gate *extra muros* with the Hippodrome (for orientation see Fig. 2 nos. 9, 10, 16–18, 23, 28, 29, 31, 33, together with Fig. 11, which shows the expansion and building stock of Gadara in the early 3rd century). In some cases, these façades even projected into the street, such as that of the Podium Monument.

The domestic quarters were aligned in a second row behind the public buildings (Fig. 2, nos. 14, 35).

It is characteristic of this period that individual buildings were emphasised by their elevated and prominent placement within the urban space. Examples of this are the Market Basilica and the adjoining West Theatre along the western

Fig. 11 Gadara in the Late Roman Period (early 3rd century AD). Topographical map showing settlement remains. (C. Bührig – Ch. Hartl-Reiter)

flank of the hill, as well as the Podium Monument (Fig. 2, nos. 10, 12, 16). Thus, during the late Roman period the politically important urban spaces towered above the western city extension and were visible from afar. The East-West Axis formed the 'backbone' of the Roman city by linking public and private areas while offering the inhabitants a platform for communication and interaction within a high density of monumental and representative buildings.

The linear sequence of the public buildings and their deliberate orientation towards the main street can be seen as a typical feature of Gadara's settlement structure (Fig. 2, no. 8; Figs. 7, 11). Additionally, the design of the city's main axis with flanking colonnades is typical of the cities in the eastern Roman Empire and, in its function for the city, are comparable to Roman *fora*. Together with the public buildings, the main axis highlights the prosperity of the city during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

Only a few side streets are presently attested to through excavation. Among these are the street passing the Market Basilica and the West Theatre as well as two minor streets in the western domestic quarter (Fig. 2 nos. 11, 35). None of these streets continued to the north of the East-West Axis.

Roman promotion of urbanisation also manifested as a joint water-tunnel project between the Decapolis cities of Abila, Adra`a and Gadara (see Fig. 6). From the second century on, water was supplied from the south of Syria to these cities via a ca. 150 km long tunnel/aqueduct.[49] Due to a construction error, the final section of the tunnel, the so-called 'upper tunnel', was not put into operation in Gadara. Instead, water for Gadara was fed into the 'lower tunnel' from the Qanāt Fir'aun (Fig. 2 no. 2).

The sponsorship behind this building initiative remains uncertain, and it is unclear whether the project had imperial backing. It is clear, however, that the water-supply project was born of necessity due to the urban growth in the three Decapolis cities mentioned above. This was especially true for Gadara, where the project would provide sufficient water for the bath complex and the huge Nymphaeum (Fig. 2, nos. 9, 21).

In the early 3rd century, the city reached its maximum extension, stretching from the upper town in the east and ca. 1.5 kilometres westwards along the East-West Axis towards the fertile areas of the plateau. The westernmost point was marked by the free-standing Monumental Gate *extra muros* (Fig. 2, no. 28; Fig. 11).[50] Situated along the city's western boundary, the Monumental Gate not only served as a link between the city and its hinterland, but also bestowed an impressive and representative accent at the city's main western entrance. For visitors approaching Gadara from the Jordan Valley in the west, the gate marked the first highlight of Roman urban architecture they would come across.

The overall structure and exterior façade of the Monumental Gate reflect the city's aspirations at the beginning of the 3rd century AD. The interior façade facing the city must be seen differently; it demonstrates the monumental and structural competition that marked the inner city space. Inside the city and to the south, the East-West Axis was flanked by a row of chambered structures which simultaneously lined the Hippodrome (Fig. 2, nos. 28, 29; Fig. 12). The northern

[49] Matthias Döring has been carrying out investigations on the Qanāt Fir'aun long-distance water channel since 2004. See Döring 2009, 153−165; Döring 2007, 24–35; Döring 2005, 130−139; Döring 2004, 183−212. More on the 'upper tunnel' in Kerner 2002, 134−135. See also footnote 31; for the situation in the Theatre-Temple Area, compare Bührig 2009a, 186-192. The longest underground section of the water channel, i.e., the 'tunnel', extended for at least 94 km. Radiocarbon dating of mortar samples from the middle part suggest a construction date between AD 130 and 210; See Döring 2009, 162.

[50] Bührig 2008a, esp. 178–199.

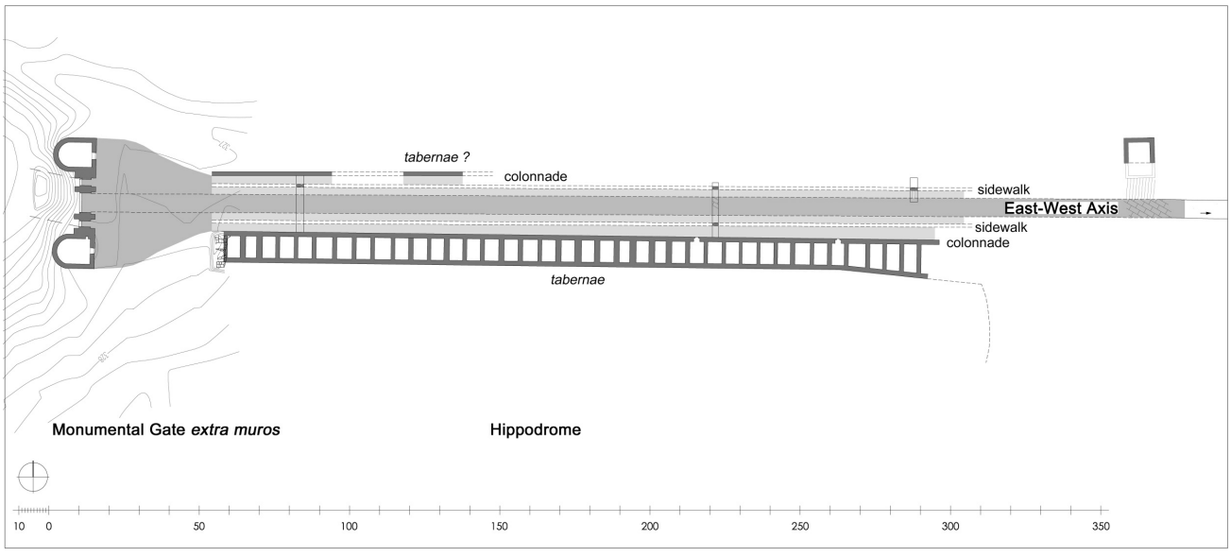

Fig. 12 Monumental Gate *extra muros* and Hippodrome. Plan of the site, proposed reconstruction. (C. Bührig – Chr. Hartl-Reiter)

front of these chambers faced the East-West Axis and was used as *tabernae* or shops. Archaeological remains also indicate that a roofed walkway in form of a colonnade lined the street. Clearly, the planning and construction of the gate complex was the result of the area's extended function as an important public and mercantile space. The erection of the Monumental Gate, the hippodrome and the *tabernae* and the roofed walkways along the East-West Axis, this urban ensemble demonstrated in architecture the growing demand of the citizens to mirror their increasing self-confidence through their city's appearance. This architectural ensemble underlined the desire to monumentalise the townscape, while at the same time establishing a commercial and multi-functional space.

Development and change in urban spaces (4th–7th century AD)

The 4th century marked the beginning of a long-lasting period of peace, growth and economic prosperity in the region.[51] As early as the 4th century, Gadara became a diocese in the Holy Land.[52] During the following three centuries, Gadara, like Pella, Scythopolis, and Gerasa, experienced a new period of prosperity, to which various building projects along the main street bear witness (Fig. 13). According to the available evidence, the transformation of Gadara during the Byzantine period seems to have taken place in two stages.

The first stage at the beginning of the 4th century witnessed the realisation of various building projects. This stage appears to have been a transitional period in the transformation of the urban structure. During this time, the cityscape was characterised by the following construction projects: a large bath[53] (beginning of the 4th century), a church complex consisting of a five-aisled basilica[54] (third quarter of the 4th century; Fig. 2, nos. 15, 25), the conversion of the North Theatre into an amphitheatre (probably in the early 4th century; Fig. 14).[55] The new constructions and extensions emphasised the importance and wealth of the city of Gadara from the beginning of the 4th century on. It is worth noting that the theatre area appears to have had lost its significance as Gadara's sacred and urban centre by the end of the 6th or during the first half of the 7th century. It remains unclear whether Temple II had already been demolished by this time.

The second stage of the city's transformation had begun by the mid-fifth century, following the destruction caused by one of the earthquakes attested to during the fourth and fifth centuries.[56] This phase can be viewed as a rebuilding measure, and the urban planning of this period reflects the increasing Christian influence. A number of churches were constructed within the city,[57] including a centralised monument with an atrium (first half of 6th century; Fig. 2, no. 10; Fig. 15) and a three-aisled basilica along the southwestern fringe of the ancient settlement hill (re-integrating a peristyle house; Fig. 2 no. 13). Both complexes integrated older structures and *spolia* into their plan and were visible from a distance.

[51] Weber 2002, 79−83; Bührig 2008b, 99−102.
[52] Weber 2002, 79−83 esp. 81, 267−268 (SQ 36 A−C), 279 (SQ 66).
[53] Nielsen et al. 1993; Holm-Nielsen et al. 1986, 219–232.
[54] al Daire 2001 esp. 87–95, 103–104; Weber 2002, 79−83, 129–131, 359–373.
[55] Bührig 2009a, 183. Structural and functional modifications of Roman theatres were common during the Byzantine period, cf. Claude 1969, 74–76.
[56] This is attested by archaeology and written sources. See Bührig 2008b, 100−102.
[57] The demolished Market Basilica was replaced by a proper church complex: an octagonal church, with its fronting atrium and a small basilica at the rear; see Vriezen et al. 2001, 537–545, Figs. 3, 6, 7; Wagner-Lux/Vriezen 2000, 139–153, esp. 140–144; Vriezen 1992, 371−423; Weber 2002, 342−348. The dating of the three-aisled basilica in the Triconchos area is according to results from investigations conducted by Günther Schauerte (SMB and DAI).

Fig. 13 Gadara in the Byzantine Period (4th–7th century AD). Topographical map showing settlement remains. (C. Bührig – Ch. Hartl-Reiter)

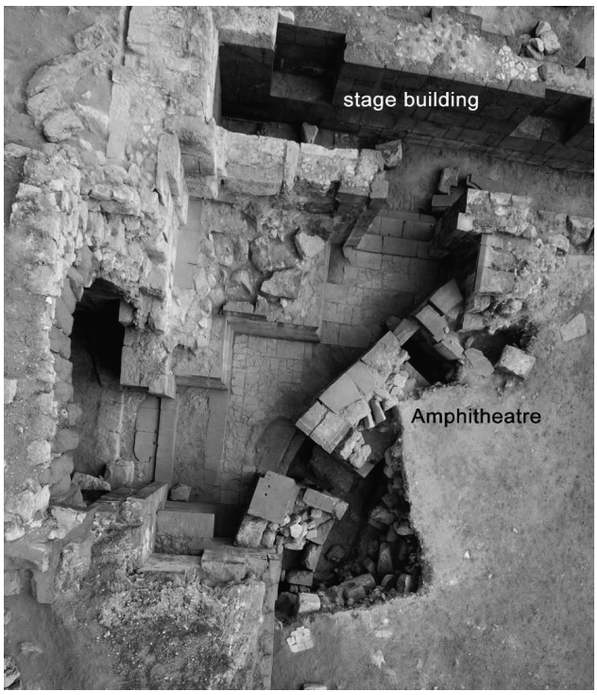

Fig. 14 Theatre-Temple-Area. Amphitheatre, rebuilding of the North Theatre (C. Bührig – Ch. Hartl-Reiter)

It is likely that other buildings in the city were still in use or newly built during the Byzantine period. Apart from religious buildings, which can be seen as an expression of Byzantine urban building policy, there is also evidence of modifications to secular monuments throughout the city. An example is the rebuilding of structures along the main street together with the rows of shops flanking the street. Nonetheless, it can be concluded that the significance of the East-West Axis as a 'backbone' was maintained in Late Antiquity (Fig. 13). Both secular and religious buildings continued to be oriented towards the street and accentuated by elaborate entrance façades. Thus, the East-West Axis and its related structures continued to play an important role in the social and economic life of the city.

Change and Decline of Urban Spaces (7th century onward)

The defeat of the Byzantine army by the Umayyads at the River Yarmūk in 636 AD (Fig. 6) signalled the end of the Byzantine period. Following this, no new major building measures were undertaken in the city, nor was any damage done to existing structures.[58] An earthquake around the middle of the 8th century destroyed large parts of the city and interrupted any further development.[59] Subsequently, urban life deteriorated, the population declined and Gadara diminished into no more than a rural settlement.

Conclusion

The ancient city of Gadara enjoyed a continuous development over approximately ten centuries, from the 2nd century BC to the 8th century AD. This development was only occasionally interrupted by events such as the city's capture by the Hasmoneans or the First Jewish Revolt.

The characteristics of the respective settlement structures and their urban spaces have been demonstrated in this paper. Comparison of the Hellenistic hilltop fortress with the Imperial axial urban layout reveals opposing concepts

[58] Bührig 2008a, 97–113. See also Bührig 2008b, 102−103; Weber 2002, 83−87.

[59] Amiran et al. (1995) and Russell (1985) have determined even more earthquakes in the region of Palestine and the Jordan Valley. They point out a severe quake took place in January 748 AD. Amiran et al. note the date of January 18, with destruction occurring in Tiberias, Hammat Gader, Pella, Beth Shean and Umm el-Jimal, amongst others. See Amiran et al. 1994, 266−267; Russell 1985, 47–49, Tab. 1; another earthquake is attested on the 8th or 9th of March 757 AD. See Amiran et al. 1994, 267; Russell 1985, 49, Tab. 1.

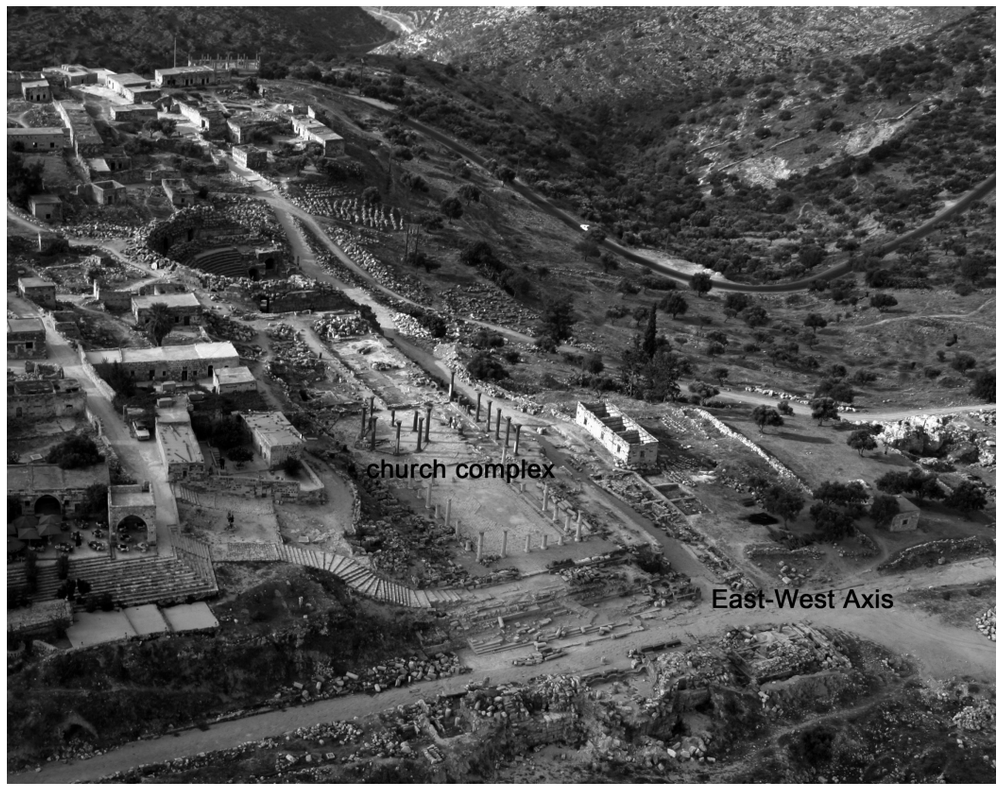

Fig. 15 Gadara. Settlement hill with the Church Complex (Centralised Monument with an atrium) on the north-western terrace. View to the south. (G. Schauerte)

of urban planning that are key to understanding the city's expansion and the development of its spaces.

The Hellenistic fortress of Gadara towered above the Wādī al-'Arab and the Yarmūk Valley (Figs. 1 and 3) as an obvious stronghold situated between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms. From this elevated location, the urban complex could be observed from a distance and in all directions. Thus, the towering stronghold defined the presence of the new Seleucid rulers and their urban planning concept in this period as a definite sign of Seleucid conquest in the region: a political and architectural demonstration of the power of the new rulers.

By contrast, the urban spaces of Gadara during Imperial Roman times – a period of economic prosperity for the region – were determined by the linear structure of the East-West Axis, which formed the 'backbone' of the city (Figs. 7 and 11). From as late as the 1st century AD, the city advanced as a commercial centre and marketplace strategically located at the crossroads of long-distance travel routes. The growth of the city and its many urban spaces reached its height in the early 3rd century (Fig. 11).

During the Hellenistic period the planning concept that was executed was representative of the period but above all military in nature, the ideal place in location and function for creating an impressive stronghold.

The Roman planning concept is different; the aim was to achieve high urban standards in the city of Gadara. The concept that was executed is also representative of the period, but due to Gadara's position in the supra-regional transport system – as a convenient transit stop and trading post – had a more commercial focus.

In spite of the differing planning concepts that characterized the Hellenistic and Roman periods respectively, it is interesting to note the continuity and destruction and rebuilding in the city's urban planning, best exemplified by the Theatre-Temple Area. Progressive construction and expansion saw it gradually grow from a commercially exploited space (i.e., a quarry) to a public area with cult, presentational and economic function (Fig. 8a–d). The latter was an architectural expression of the highly developed self-image of the citizens of Roman Gadara.

Gadara's third and final heyday occurred between the 4th and the late 6th centuries, when the city served as a diocese for the province of *Palaestina Secunda* and benefited from the growing significance of the Holy Land (Fig. 13). By this time, however, the destruction of the Theatre-Temple Area as the sacred centre of the city had already begun.

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Conclusion

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In his book *The Production of Space*, published in 1974, the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre defined the concept of space as one which "….may outlive its original purpose and the raison d'etre which determines its forms, functions, and structures; it may in a sense become vacant, and susceptible of being diverted, re-appropriated and put to a use quite different from its initial one." Thus, monumental space may be understood as an evolving entity, rarely static but always susceptible to alterations.

The papers in this volume focused on transformations in monumental space through time across a vast region – Alexander's East, an area that witnessed numerous conquests resulting in the interaction between different peoples, whether natives, conquerors, or foreign settlers. Such massive transformations brought with them cultural diffusion and a re-evaluation of public and private spaces that had to conform to the needs of people living in the Hellenistic, Roman, and late antique periods. Spiritual life, too, left a major impact on monumental space in the region. As the birthplace of three major world religions – Judaism, Christianity, and Islam – but also of various pagan cults such as Mithraism, the cult of Cybele and Adonis, and the old pharaonic pantheon which these three religions eventually supplanted, Alexander's East is a lucrative area for the study of continuity and destruction in sacred monumental space. With the frequent shift of peoples, political, and religious ideologies throughout antiquity, the region was and continues to be a hotspot of radical change which can be observed in the treatment (or mistreatment) of monumental space.

A major theme that permeates the papers in this volume is the concept of change over time in civic and sacred spaces. As John Ma maintains in his discussion about space as/and conflict in the Hellenistic period, the social construction of space is paramount in our understanding of ancient societies and is as important as the evidence derived from literary sources. The other papers in this volume brought us into the world of transformation in theatrical space (Craig Barker), agorai (Rob Rens and Gaëlle Coqueugniot), civic space (Claudia Bührig), sacred space (Ildiko Csepregi), and the display of monumental art in civic space (Elizabeth Brophy). It is evident from this eclectic mix of papers that various aspects of monumental space have the potential to continue to be used or to transform completely after the military and cultural conquests of a region. The task of the archaeologist or historian is to discern how, when, and why these changes took place as well as to attempt to answer the questions of who provided the impetus for building these spaces and for which audiences they were created.

What the case studies in this volume suggest is that continuity in monumental space was as much about the veneration of a region's historical past as it was about its utilitarian needs. Destruction of monumental space, on the other hand, should be generally seen as a form of adaptation by newer agents rather than as a tearing down of older, less useful spaces. From the theatre precinct at Nea Paphos to the urban spaces of Gadara, a common theme in the case studies presented in this volume is the reuse and refurbishment of older spaces. This suggests that, in most cases, the people living in Alexander's East venerated older monumental spaces and incorporated them into contemporary architectural spaces, often in altered configurations. A number of observations raised in this volume, some of which are also hinted at in John Ma's paper, raise questions that may provide an impetus for further research. An important if rather difficult area of inquiry is the study of agency in the use of monumental space. Who were the people who frequented agorai, theatres, and temples? Which percentages of the local populations did these spaces serve? While the meaning of these monumental spaces may have shifted several times from the Hellenistic period to late antiquity due to an increasing cultural *koine* in the eastern Mediterranean and the fact that some of these monumental spaces could not be reconciled with the new religious orders that permeated Alexander's East starting in the later Roman period, can we argue for both elite and non-elite management of these spaces from one period to the next? For example, were agorai, theatres and temples in the Hellenistic period built specifically for the Hellenized upper classes and were they later opened up to the lower, often non-Greek-speaking classes during the Roman and late antique periods? How aware was the average individual of the history and, by extension, of continuity in the monumental space of his or her city? Was the past venerated in these spaces or was it forgotten? The papers in this edited volume tend to argue more for veneration than neglect, but the questions they raise open the field up for interdisciplinary research, particularly through a more conscientious study of material culture in combination with literary sources.

To summarize then, monumental space in Alexander's East went through various transformations that conformed to the needs of people living in specific time periods and under specific social conditions. Continuity may be evident in, for example, the pharaonic motifs of monumental statues in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, but older types of spaces such as agorai were new innovations in cities such as Sagalassos in Pisidia and Dura-Europos and Seleucia on the Tigris in Mesopotamia during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods since these areas did not have extensive

contacts with the Greeks or Romans before the Hellenistic period; the adoption of Greek or Roman monumental spaces took a while to permeate the lifestyle of the local populations in these areas. On the other hand, deliberate destruction of monumental space was less common than one might assume, as many of the case studies in this volume would suggest. Thus, one may conclude that it was far more likely that space was re-used, re-appropriated and even venerated from one period to the next rather than deliberately destroyed. Future excavations will no doubt provide new insights – and further debate – into monumental space in the lives of ancient peoples living in Alexander's East.